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Ewald T. Grether

DEAN OF THE UC BERKELEY SCHOOLS OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, 1943-1961;
LEADER IN CAMPUS ADMINISTRATION, PUBLIC SERVICE, AND MARKETING
STUDIES; AND FOREVER A TEACHER

In Two Volumes

Includes interviews with Carrie Maclay Grether

With an Introduction by
Clark Kerr

Interviews Conducted by
Harriet Nathan
1975-1987

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VOLUME II

GRETHER, Ewald T. (b. 1899)

Professor of Economics

Dean of the UC Berkeley Schools of Business Administration, 1943-1961:
Leader in Campus Administration, Public Service, and Marketing Studies; and
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Ancestors and family; working through school and university years; six decades of University of California and Berkeley life; innovative teaching, including marketing theory and practice; College of Commerce and Schools of Business Administration: history, organization, faculty, curriculum development, Flood Foundation; work of the Academic Senate; World War II: War Labor Board, Office of Price Administration; post-war, California and Earl Warren, Commission on Unemployment; federal assignments in the Truman Era, National Security Resources Board, 1948; State Department mission to Sweden, 1953, and other foreign study and travel; University of Texas, seminars, 1978; Clark Kerr: problems of the Institute of Industrial Relations, 1945, UC presidency, 1958-1967; Berkeley, the loyalty oath, and problems of the 1960s; business and economics in California and Montana; state and national Fair Trade legislation, and significant court cases; developments in water law; honors, awards, publications. Includes an interview with Carrie MacLay Grether: observations of Ewald Grether's contributions and teaching, California style and Berkeley life, a working ranch in Montana.

Introduction by Clark Kerr, President of the University Emeritus and Professor of Business Administration Emeritus.

Interviewed 1975-1987 by Harriet Nathan for the University History Series. The Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

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XXI THE ACADEMIC SENATE AND THE UNIVERSITY'S ADMINISTRATION

[Interview 16: December 10, 1977]##

Nathan: I hope that some time this morning we can get into your many Academic Senate activities and interests. Perhaps you may want to explain what the Academic Senate is, and how it works.

Service on Senate Committees

Grether: I've certainly had enough background to attempt this. I have before me the official record of my committee service with the Academic Senate, which is provided by the senate. Also I have before me something that really should be, in a sense, run together with any discussion of the Academic Senate. This is the report to the All-University Conference, at Davis campus, May 1, 1953, on the faculty and educational policies of the University. The first committee report was entitled "The Two Structures: Faculty Self-Government and Administrative Organization." I was chairman of this committee. Actually, one cannot, at least in my case, talk about the senate and its organization without also relating to the administrative organization of the Berkeley campus.

I've had 22 years of experience in administration [in 1977], first as acting dean, College of Commerce, 1934-36, and then 20 consecutive years as dean, beginning in 1941. Also, beginning in the 1930s, I was always active in some capacity in Academic Senate work, and have, therefore, a

rather unusual background of experience to interpret both the functioning of the senate and the functioning of the University's central administration and the interrelationships between these two. I hope this record which we will make today will help illuminate some things in terms of my own experience and my own judgments.

Now, my Academic Senate experience began in 1934-35, when I was (hard to believe) chairman of the Committee on Prizes. I suppose that's considered to be about the lowest rung on the Academic Senate ladder. We need not discuss it, since I've forgotten what we did, but we certainly probably awarded some prizes [laughs].

Nathan: Were you then a full professor?

Grether: I was an associate. I became an associate professor in 1931, as I recall it.

Then there's quite a change. Beginning in '35-'36, I was appointed to the Committee on Courses, and that went on continuously through '42-'43, right in the middle of the war. During the last four years of that period I was chairman of the Committee on Courses. Now, there could be no better way to become acquainted with the University of California than to be on the Committee on Courses, and especially to be its chairman--and especially during the war period, when they had to remodel the whole curriculum and the whole course structure and content to adapt to the war needs and urgencies. I've always felt that I was exceedingly lucky, although I was awfully busy, to have had this experience, because the area of courses is the one area where the faculty is in entire control.

Nathan: May I ask if this committee related just to Letters and Sciences, or did it relate to the entire campus?

Grether: To the entire campus in this case, so it gave me a bird's-eye view of what went on throughout the entire campus. It was an invaluable experience in terms of my work later on as a dean and chairman of a department. Most important, I became familiar with the University.

This was followed by other committee service--for example, the Committee on Committees in 1943-44, and the Budget Committee for two years beginning in 1944-45 (by the way, Ben Lehman was chairman of that committee when I was on

it, and that was quite an experience to work with Ben), and the Educational Policy Committee, beginning in 1946 and on through 1954-55. There could have been no better selection of committees in terms of participation and background, because the Budget Committee is the key committee; that's where the departments' promotions and so on are handled on the way to the chancellor's final decision.

Educational Policy covers all areas of the new enterprises and policy. Incidentally, that was enormously helpful in terms of working eventually in developing our new forms of organization in the area of business administration, because these had to be cleared through Educational Policy locally as well as universitywide. It related to universitywide because we were asked, you may recall in our earlier taping, to do our planning in cooperation with UCLA. So these reports went to Educational Policy universitywide.

Then, beginning in 1952-53, for three years I was vice chairman of the Northern Section. Now, why? Well, in the first place I was asked by the Committee on Committees [chuckles], and in the second place, Clark Kerr had just been appointed chancellor, and, after all, I had brought him here and took a great deal of pride in his appointment as chancellor. I realized that my experience had been a lot deeper than his in terms of senate activity, and I thought I could be helpful to him and to the campus in this capacity. The normal term is two years, but there was a change in organization north and south, so I was asked to carry it for three years; so had this three-year experience. Those were a very busy three years. I was not only chairman of a department and dean, but for two years was also a director of the Institute of Industrial Relations--successor to Clark.

Nathan: Unbelievable. Were you teaching also?

Grether: Oh, yes, I always taught a seminar. I refused to give up my teaching.

Nathan: You astonish me.

Grether: Well, it is astonishing. I must have had the longest list of titles on the campus at that time.

Then there were other things, like the Committee on Academic Freedom. By the way, those materials have already gone to the archives, so we will not try to discuss them today. If we wish at some time to do that, I'd have to get the materials out of the archives, because I was a member and chairman of that committee at various times; also of Honorary Degrees, and the so-called Advisory Committee.

Then finally I also became involved at the statewide level, first, of course, when I was vice chairman of the Northern Section; that brought me into statewide activities, but after I had retired as dean and decided to go back into teaching and research on a normal basis. Then I was asked to become vice chairman of the Universitywide Academic Assembly. And that meant that I would succeed the following year to the chairmanship. This, I felt, was a great honor in many ways, because administrative officers, including deans, are not allowed to be members of the Universitywide Assembly; it's entirely a faculty operation.

Academic Senate and the Revolution of 1919

Nathan: Could you somewhere along the line distinguish between the Academic Senate and the Academic Assembly?

Grether: Yes. I have before me the chronology; let's just look at this a bit. Down until 1933, there was just one Academic Senate. It was established already in the Organic Act, when the University was established in 1868. That's worth nothing, because it actually didn't amount to very much until after the famous Revolution of 1919. It had a very checkered record, partly because the University was small, and under those conditions the president and also the Secretary of the Regents ran the Berkeley campus.

Nathan: Really?

Grether: Pretty much. The faculty during that earlier period chiefly dealt with student disciplinary problems. They did not really have a voice in appointments, promotions, and the allocation of resources.

The famous so-called Berkeley Revolution of 1919-20, which occurred at the end of World War I, was a true

revolution. Curiously, it should not have been necessary. What happened there was that Benjamin Ide Wheeler, who came to the University in 1899, as part of his deal with the Regents, said they would have to close the office of the Secretary of the Regents on campus. The secretary should no longer try to run the campus; he was going to run it. Also, he was given authority to be a czar, and he did not use the senate very much. Fortunately for the University, he was a builder and had a good judgment of people; he brought very strong people to the University.

In 1915 he made a speech before a national association meeting in which he said that a good faculty should be involved in the government of the university, and it was clear, therefore, that he knew what he was doing. I think he was probably very wise. As I look back upon it, there's nothing worse than to have a faculty run a place if they're not high level. You could have the triumph of mediocrity, protecting their best interests. [laughs] This has happened in a number of places I could mention; I've seen this around the United States. Give a faculty power, and they're really protecting their vested interests against competition, you see, and this could be a very catastrophic situation. Wheeler brought in good people. And he believed the time had come, you see--he said this himself--to bring the faculty into the operation.

Then World War I came along. He'd been a friend of the Kaiser, and he'd been educated in Germany, as had many of the early scholars. Also, apparently his health suffered, and the Regents appointed a committee of three deans to run the University--in other words, to become a kind of executive committee under the president. They were given authority.

It was during this period that the revolt occurred. It occurred not so much against Wheeler as against the situation where the faculty could see very important issues arising in terms of postwar developments and needs, and felt they should have a voice. So they memorialized the Regents asking for participation in the government of the University. The details of this could be spelled out, but I won't take the trouble to do it now.

The Regents, fortunately, received this memorial very favorably and set up a negotiating committee. The chairman of this committee was J. K. Moffitt, whose name appears on

the undergraduate library on the campus now. I recall Moffitt, although I was a very young man not too well acquainted around the University. He was a man who knew the faculty. He was friends with faculty members socially, and the faculty respected him. I recall one time I met him socially, and I happened to mention the fog in the Bay Area. He said, "Oh, I'll send you a book from the library." Sure enough, I have a book somewhere in the library from J. K. Moffitt's library about the cumulus in the Bay Region, its history and what causes it. So, a very fine and able person, and he chaired a sympathetic committee.

I won't put the details in the record (we could add it later on if it seems important, but all of this is available in various publications). What emerged was a better system than the faculty had itself asked for. For instance, the faculty had asked that they be allowed to appoint deans and chairmen. That would have been a mistake, actually. They should be consulted, but they shouldn't have the power of appointment. That did not emerge.

What emerged was a system in which the faculty were given control of courses, and the administrative officers had to consult the faculty before they made appointments and promotions, and so on. In other words, the faculty were given a voice in selecting their own members and in controlling the courses and curricula. After all, who else could judge what should go into a course or a curriculum? The Regents sitting up at the top? It's only the people who are involved in the field who can make those basic decisions.

Well, I won't go into detail, but this produced in Berkeley what came to be undoubtedly the strongest system of faculty participation in the governance of any University. There may be smaller places, like Oberlin, for example, where you have equally strong situations, but among the major institutions this was the model, so to speak, of faculty participation.

Strong Administration and Strong Faculty

Grether: Now, for what it's worth, my feeling is that after my 50-plus years of experience, this is a very important reason why the miracle of one of the world's great--perhaps the ranking--University in the world appeared on the rim of this country, here in California. The combination of strong people and strong administration and strong faculty participation is by far the best combination.

I mention this because some people take different views. I've sat in on discussions of this. Some people think you can't have both. It is contended that if you have a strong administration you will have a weak faculty participation, and if you have strong faculty participation, you're bound to have weak administration. I think it's absolutely wrong. Bob Sproul proved it, and Clark Kerr proved it. Sproul found this faculty system just made to order. He was not an academic man, but he got good advice, you see, from the faculty committees and Academic Senate, which on the whole he followed, although he sometimes made decisions to the contrary. Clark Kerr did the same thing. Now, this does not mean that the top administrators dance to the music of the faculty or vice versa. But it means that together the outcome is much better than if either side had almost complete responsibility for the results.

Evolution of the Academic Senate: A Federal System'

Grether: Well, we were talking about the change in organization. The senate was a single body on the Berkeley campus until '33-'34. Then it was broken into two sections, the northern and the southern sections, because by this time UCLA had been established and things were beginning to happen elsewhere in the state. In '51-'52, in the northern section, Davis and San Francisco were given their own divisions, but they were still part of the northern section. Now, gradually this evolved. For example, in 1950-59 there were the following divisions in the southern and northern sections: Berkeley, Davis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Riverside, Santa Barbara. This continued until finally the present system emerged, which is a federal system where each campus has its division

of the Academic Senate, and over the top is the Assembly of the Academic Senate, which is a Universitywide structure.

Nathan: I see.

Grether: That has underneath it what is called the Academic Council. The assembly is a much larger group, and it meets, say, twice a year, or more frequently. The Academic Council--which consists of the chairmen of the divisions (that is, of each of the campuses) plus the chairmen of three important committees--meets once a month. It always meets before the meeting of the Board of Regents. It's a small group, and it's composed of the leaders of the campus. The tendency has been for the presidents, especially Clark Kerr, to consult with this small group before they go into the meeting of the Regents. In fact, what would happen is that Kerr would come to the council, then he would go to the chancellors and consult with both groups, and with the advice he got in both places he would go into the Board of Regents' meeting and make his recommendations for action.

Nathan: Am I right in assuming that neither the council nor the assembly nor the senate deals directly with the Regents? They deal only through the president?

Grether: That's right. Issues over the years arose as to this. In fact, it's a situation which is an uneasy one, because there would be a certain amount of direct dealing. (Later on, if we have time this morning, I would like to get into a very important issue along this line when I was chairman of the statewide council and assembly, because it involved the Berkeley division.) But that is the line of authority. Always there was an issue here as to who should represent the campuses and the divisions at the statewide level. Some of the chancellors felt they should be the line of communication, not the senate. The senate people felt strongly that they should have a line of communication. This is a very important issue that I would like to get into in some detail a little later as we advance.

So what we have now, you see, is a federal system with nine divisions with the Academic Assembly, which is the statewide Academic Senate, and Academic Council. The whole statewide committee structure is very similar to that of each of the divisions, although there are some differences. This system is continually subject to adjustment and modification.

I think it's worth noting here, Harriet, that I have experience at all levels, you see--in fact, in all the important committees, I think, except the Graduate Council. I've never served on that, probably because I was a dean and might have axes to grind; I'm not sure. I think I can say safely that during my period on the campus I have been involved in all of the local campus and the important statewide activities, including the top positions. So I feel that I have some background of experience, and that my judgment might have some significance with respect to some important issues.

Review Procedures for Faculty Appointments

Grether: Now, my work as dean and chairman was very interesting from this perspective. For instance, as a member of the senate I would, for example, serve on these ad hoc committees because I was a faculty member. All faculty appointments, from assistant professor up, and all promotions go through very careful, systematic review. The instructions are written out, the criteria are spelled out (we won't go into that unless it seems important, or unless you have a question). As a faculty member I have often participated in those. Now, as a chairman and dean, as a recommending officer, you-

Nathan: You received them?

Grether: [laughs] You receive results of this procedure. Here's an interesting aspect of this. The whole system of review is confidential. Recently, you know, there have been discussions of excessive confidentiality and so on. It is a confidential system. When I was chairman and dean I insisted upon two things, and successfully.

One was that I be informed as to the membership of the review committees, and if I saw a chance that justice would not be served by the committee, that I be allowed to point it out. I had in mind if, for example, they happened to pick someone with a strong bias against this candidate. I was very careful never to suggest a change except where I saw a problem of this sort.

The other was that if the review went against my recommendation, I be allowed to see the report. I was allowed, but without the names of the committee attached. I understand that later they stopped that and give the recommending officer only a digest, or abstract, of the report.

My view was that I had taken the trouble to have careful review procedures in our department and school, and then to write a recommendation (and, by the way, in my recommendations I always made it a point to indicate the nature of my consultation with my colleagues and what their judgment was, and whether I agreed or disagreed; sometimes I disagreed. But I always gave the full record). If, after doing all this work very carefully, the verdict was against me, I felt it was part of a learning experience, and also part of my determination of whether I wanted to continue. For instance, suppose I sent forward recommendations that are turned down; that would be a signal you're not performing well. I think it is a very important aspect of this whole process that the recommending officers be involved if their recommendations are not accepted.

On the whole, I got along very well, but there were a few cases where I think the review procedures didn't come out quite as they might have. In other words, the system is not perfect, but I think it's so much better than having one person. Suppose a decision is made by a chairman or dean or chancellor alone? He's not going to make it alone; he's going to have his little kitchen cabinet, you see. This is the trouble with the three-dean system following Wheeler.

Nathan: Sure.

Grether: So this guaranteed that the review procedures will be systematic. On the whole, the results are extraordinarily good, in terms of maintaining standards of excellence. The faculty on the whole under this system have higher standards than, I think, administrative officers would have maintained. I think there is no doubt about that.

Nathan: Are these decisions final? If you or another recommending officer who felt very strongly was turned down, is there anywhere to go with the recommendation?

Grether: The system used to be for all tenure appointments. They would go from the department to the Budget Committee; it

looks at the ad hoc committee report, and it can make independent investigations if it wishes.

Nathan: This is the Senate Budget Committee?

Grether: That's right. Then that committee sends the report with its comments and recommendations to the chancellor. Now, if the recommending officer wishes, he can go to the chancellor. But until the decentralization occurred under President Kerr, all tenure appointments had to go through the Regents also. So you had all this going through Harry Wellman or Sidney Hoos or somebody in the central office also, until it finally emerged in the Board of Regents. More recently there has been some considerable decentralization, giving more authority to the chancellors on the campus. I think this is, on the whole, wise, although some appointments still must go forward to the Board of Regents.

Is that all?

Nathan: Thank you, yes, I think that explains it.

Grether: I don't know how much one should put on this record in terms of the function of this system as a whole. For example, I see that I served on something called the Advisory Committee from 1953 for three years, through '54, '55. I was chairman in '54 and '55. Now, that's a complete blank; I have no memory of it, and there's nothing in my files. But I think I know what happened.

There was a period when in the Berkeley campus senate they had a little advisory committee to advise the president on the agenda and other matters. In the early period the president was chairman of the Academic Senate, and Sproul would come and preside. For instance, when I was so-called vice chairman of the Northern Section, during the three years mentioned, I was really the executive officer, but Sproul had the title of chairman; he occasionally would come to a meeting and preside, but all the work was done by me.

This Advisory Committee was established during the period when the chairman would need consultation on the agenda, and on issues. It was a very interesting history from one other standpoint. During the oath period, Sproul consulted this Advisory Committee, and there's a nice little problem (I have some of the materials here) as to what kind of advice he got. Apparently, in the first go-round this

Advisory Committee didn't see clearly the problem that the oath would present.

Nathan: How interesting.

Grether: Joel Hildebrand was the key person. So the president's initial advice apparently was not entirely adequate in terms of what's really involved here. Eventually it was straightened out, but it was too late, because the University was involved in this horrendous episode.

Reports on the Academic Senate##

Nathan: You were just showing me some material on the senate.

Grether: I would like to mention this report, called "The Academic Senate of the University of California," prepared by Professor Russell H. Fitzgibbon of the Santa Barbara campus at the request of the President of the University, published in 1960. It's an excellent brief report. I read it in manuscript form, and I was pleased when I picked up my files and discovered that Professor Fitzgibbon in a letter to me said that I had given him more detailed comment than anybody else. [chuckles] But I was interested.

Nathan: That's a beautiful presentation.

Grether: It's a nice report, and it's brief enough so that anybody could afford to take time to read it. My only criticism of it is that it's not indexed. It would be more useful to readers if it were.

Now, here's the Centennial Record, official record. That has a brief report also. I would like to mention, too, that I wrote a paper on the Academic Senate, published in the California Monthly, April 1953. This was done really in collaboration with Professor Walton Bean from the History Department, who was then doing a history of the University, and he gave up because he was not given access to the executive session minutes by the Board of Regents.

Nathan: I remember that.

Grether: But he was very helpful. I did this because when I was appointed vice chairman I wanted to have the background.

Nathan: And it's entitled--

Grether: "Faculty Participation in the University Government."

Nathan: Very good.

Grether: A very nice little report also was done by Professors James M. Cline and Arthur E. Hutson of the English Department, "A Century of Faculty Government," published in the California Monthly, March 1966. So there are available good, brief, and interpretive materials.

I wish to mention one other, because it has a rather peculiar interest. This is called "Proceedings of the First Annual Faculty Assembly of the State University of New York, Held October 24-26, 1965, at West Point." I was asked to come to this meeting, as chairman of the statewide assembly, to explain how we operate in the senate. My report here is entitled "The Role of the Senate of the University of California." Now, this, in brief form, of course reports what these other things indicate, but it's of interest to me for another reason.

In the discussion following my presentation, I pointed out that California had just now at that time passed New York in population; it was now the number one state. Then I added an obiter dictum; that is, in my opinion New York could still be number one if it had had a system of higher education equivalent to that of the state of California. I don't know whether this is what ticked New York off, but almost immediately in New York the system took off [laughter]. It put enormous resources into higher education, and became very competitive. In fact, they established these very fancy \$100,000 chairs, you see--all sorts of things. We lost one of our very able young men, Lee Preston, to the Buffalo campus, for example. I've always wondered if perchance my obiter dictum comment was a factor in all of this. But I do think there is something important in this. That is, the fact that in California we did have an excellent system of higher education was undoubtedly an important aspect of the economic and social development of this state, undergirding it, so to speak.

Locating Authority and Responsibility

Grether: Now, to go back to my experience, there is one aspect of it I would like to work through rather carefully, because it represents a continuing set of processes and problems. It's not only true of this University, it's true of all universities and of all large bureaucratic organizations.

I have in mind the problem of where authority and responsibility rest. To one extent it shows itself in the issue of centralization and decentralization. But underneath that is the issue of what makes the organization really tick or function responsibly. I don't know whether you've read anything of Ken Galbraith's work. He said in recent years that most people don't know who is president of an organization any more. It's further down the line--the people who have the technical knowledge; they're really the people who determine that what takes place is successful. That's probably a little strong. But it's very interesting to look at the University and its performance, and the present trends and likely future from this standpoint. Now, without any desire on my part, I became involved in this issue in a rather peculiar manner. I think it may be worth working through this entire issue, if you don't mind.

Nathan: That sounds crucial.

Grether: You recall, before we had the break here, that I indicated how the senate had grown from a Berkeley campus senate to a northern section, and now to a federal type of system with divisions in each campus, with the statewide panoply over these divisions to which these campus divisions relate. By the way, this system was completed when Santa Cruz and Irvine were given divisions. That's what produced the nine divisions in our federal system.

This whole process completed itself, curiously enough, in the 1960s--1965-66--when Irvine and Santa Cruz became part of the system. This was also the period of turbulence on the Berkeley campus, and increasingly throughout this country and throughout the world. Next fall sometime, when we get together again, I plan to try to interpret the whole 1960s. I have that box of material behind you there, which I took to Montana last summer, and I'm going to take up again to try and rethink that whole period.

Nathan: That will be very good.

Grether: Well, I hope so. I'm inclined to think that, in terms of the issues I've raised just now, the faculty, too, became infected with whatever the virus was of unrest, and it showed itself in the way I'll describe here. Also, I might say that one reason we finally survived and came through, I think, is the fact that we had the senate organization where people could get together in committees and set up meetings, and where actions could finally be taken. Although it became resolved, there was some confusion between the administrative side and the senate side. The senate was very active, but I don't want to discuss that now, because we'll save that until we look at the '60s in greater detail.

Now, here are the minutes of the Berkeley division, January 12, 1965. Delmer Brown, representing the Committee on the University and Faculty Welfare, brought in the following resolution with respect to the effective functioning of the Academic Senate at both the statewide and divisional levels: "Be it resolved that the Assembly of the Academic Senate formally, at the earliest possible time, present policies and recommendations on the following: (1) means for achieving a better understanding among the divisions concerning the allocation of University resources; (2) maintaining and extending the influence of the senate statewide and divisionally in the area of educational policy; and (3) defining more clearly the areas of campus autonomy as distinguished from those areas in which statewide uniformity appears desirable."

This, then, was followed at the assembly level on October 15, 1965, by a statement by Angus Taylor, who was then chairman of the Universitywide Academic Assembly which invited Delmer Brown to Berkeley to discuss this resolution and repeat this resolution. This set in motion a series of discussions and actions at the statewide level, including one that we'll eventually get to as we advance.

Autonomy for Berkeley

Grether: In the meantime, this whole type of discussion continued within the Berkeley division. I have here the minutes of the Berkeley division, October 11, 1965, and there's a

report here by the Senate Policy Committee, of which Jack [T. J.] Kent was chairman at that time. It's a rather lengthy report. I want to refer only to those aspects that bear upon this particular issue concerning centralization, decentralization, and the relative autonomy of, say, a campus--in this case, the Berkeley campus. That is, the committee stated very clearly that if the choice is between a centralized system and an autonomous one, they favor autonomy for the Berkeley campus. If that were achieved within the Berkeley campus system, they would favor a situation in which there is both a strong central administration and a strong faculty senate--in other words, the sort of thing I mentioned earlier, but that would be within the assumption of autonomy for the Berkeley campus. This was part of a very lengthy report dealing with quite a few other matters that I won't discuss now.

Then, at the November 8 meeting of the Berkeley division, this whole issue was raised again in the so-called "Interim Report," in which a campus chairman of the committee points out that in accepting the earlier report, the Berkeley division had placed itself on record as favoring autonomy for the Berkeley campus, and went on to discuss these matters further. I'll turn here to this report briefly. I want to read one aspect of it.

The senate system, however, was originally devised to participate in the government of a single campus, and did not make, and apparently cannot make, a truly successful transition to the predominance of an overarching statewide administration. Since 1955 no statewide institutions for the articulation of faculty opinion have been developed comparable in effectiveness to the powerful presidential administration. Thus, although the Berkeley senate probably maintained its sphere of authority during the last two decades at the campus level, overall it lost ground.

And Berkeley began feeling it was losing ground under the conditions as of that time.

Two resolutions were introduced at the end. I want to read the second one because it's pertinent to the issue.

Resolved that the Berkeley division declares that the Universitywide Academic Council does not and cannot represent the views of this faculty to the President and the Regents. In any consultation between the statewide administration, the Berkeley chancellor, and the Berkeley faculty, the latter can be validly represented only by committees of the division, either standing or especially chosen, which are responsible to it.

In other words, this is a clear-cut attack on the Academic Council which, for the most part, represented the statewide central administration.

This put me in a very difficult position. I was a member in good standing with the senate, but also chairman of the statewide council. Now, this was not an attack on me personally; it was a reflection of the feeling of the times.

I think it is important to put this in the context of the 1960s. Everything was in flux, you see. The students had become almost anarchistic and nihilistic within the University system. The faculty, and especially the Berkeley senate, began to worry about its relative authority and autonomy. Well, I replied to this, and the whole statement appears in here on pages 7 to 9 in the beginning. It's pretty lengthy, and I won't read all of it, but I'll try to interpret it briefly.

What I tried to do here was to indicate--let me quote something here.

Universitywide and statewide discussions and participation cannot be avoided. The problem is to ensure that the voice of the faculty is heard effectively and intelligently at all levels. In my opinion, it would be a serious mistake for the Berkeley division to prejudge the actualities and potentialities of statewide faculty participation in University government by the flat statement that the senate system did not make and apparently cannot make a truly

successful transition to the predominance of an overarching statewide administration.

(By the way, that system had been in operation only very briefly, and is still in a formative stage.)

It could be an even greater error, then, on this basis to adopt a resolution which in effect breaks or denounces normal working relations with the Universitywide Academic Council. It would seem greatly preferable to participate in and continue discussions at all levels, within the division, within the Universitywide committees, and the Universitywide Academic Council, and assemblies. It is my judgment based upon the observation of and participation in the events of last year and thus far this year that the faculty representatives of the other divisions have been thoroughly aware of and sympathetic to the situation in Berkeley.

You see, the problems were here, not in the other divisions.

Nathan: Not yet, at least.

Grether: Not yet, that's right. "No effort has been made by the Academic Council to intrude into our local affairs, except as it was deemed and hoped to be helpful to guarantee a hearing for the Berkeley division's Emergency Executive Committee last December." When we get into this next fall, I'll explain what this means. That is, the council was very helpful on this score at a special meeting of the Board of Regents in Los Angeles.

Nathan: May I ask you about this? Is this a record of debate, or did you go home, think about it, and write out a response?

Grether: I had this written out beforehand from the previous meeting. I came to this meeting prepared to make this statement, and so I did. In fact, as I recall it, it was very dramatic. Here was this committee, Jack Kent's committee, sitting in the front row, and my microphone's right in front of them. So I said, "I hope you don't mind if I speak over your head." [laughter] We're all friends. And I told Jack I

was going to put him into my oral history. I said, "Do you recall when I spoke over your head?" He said, "Oh, you mean that Policy Committee report." Then he added, "Well, the issue is still unresolved," which is true.

Nathan: This is interesting.

Grether: It is the kind of issue that probably will never be resolved in a full sense, because it's the sort of thing that continues in large bureaucracies.

Who Speaks to the Regents for the Faculty

Grether: Let's continue, then, with this. Here's the record of the Berkeley senate meeting, December 6, 1965. Instead of Kent picking up the discussion, Professor Heyman (Mike Heyman, as we call him), who is now the vice chancellor, definitely replied to my comment. He begins as follows: "In view of Professor Grether's remarks at the last divisional meeting November 8, 1965, it seems useful to sketch out the organization of the faculty government in the University in order to illustrate why the Policy Committee directed the proposed resolution at the Academic Council."

Nathan: Was a vote taken?

Grether: That's still coming. No, that's still to emerge. So he discusses the problem of the statewide University as a single cohesive institution, with the Academic Senate as a single entity, and indicates how the University operates. He then relates to something that happened at the statewide meeting, which really in a sense produced some of the strength of this reaction. At the statewide meeting Angus Taylor made his annual report statement. (Taylor was chairman of the division, of the statewide assembly; he later on became vice president of Academic Affairs, and he's now retired as chancellor of the Santa Cruz campus and living in Berkeley. He and I are quite close friends. I was vice chairman with him when he was chairman, and we've become very well acquainted.)

In his report Taylor said, "With respect to the general question of change in the University, whether as a consequence of the Byrne Report, whether as a consequence of

proposals and discussions between the President and the Board of Regents, the council can report with pleasure and satisfaction that its relations with President Kerr and the Board of Regents seemed to be such as to make for cordial and useful consultation. The council is the most readily available senate body for direct dealing with the Board of Regents, and for regular consultation with the President. Let us hope it will function wisely and well." Now, this wording is what bothered, you see, the Berkeley people. So Heyman points out that this paragraph was withdrawn from the annual report at the request of the members of that meeting, who didn't like this reference to dealing directly with the Board of Regents. Then he goes on to say, "It is with this background that resolution (2) of the interim policy should be evaluated"--the one I quoted earlier.

The resolution is not intended to declare war on the Academic Council or the Universitywide faculty government. The resolution is not intended to deprecate the valuable service which can be and is provided by men who make up the Academic Council to function as a group of seasoned and knowledgeable faculty advisors for the President, a sounding board for his proposals. It is only intended to make clear that the Academic Council is advisory and its advice consists of what its members individually believe to be wise. It is not, nor should it be, under the by-laws a representative body for the faculty for direct dealing with the Regents or the President. It cannot represent the views of this faculty in the sense of binding the faculty on any matter local or statewide, because that is not its function. It cannot speak in any authoritative sense for this faculty for the same reason. The resolution merely states this.

Then he went on to discuss the whole problem of autonomy, and why they focused upon autonomy and so on.

Then I replied. My reply is not given in detail, but there's a paragraph of interpretation. I think I'll put that in the record if you don't mind, because then the vote was taken that you asked about.



Ewald T. Grether, Carrie M. Grether, Ira Michael Heyman, Roderic B. Park, circa 1988.

Photograph courtesy Haas School of Business

Nathan: Good.

Grether: Professor Grether replied, explaining the statewide import of what is being discussed on the floor of this house. He noted that it is impossible to make a decision on matters of important general concern in this division alone. Inevitably these same issues arise at the Universitywide level, and increasingly at the statewide level under the Coordinating Council for Higher Education. He noted, too, that it has been the practice of the President to meet with the Academic Council prior to discussions with the chief campus officers and committees, and the Regents. He illustrated this with examples from the last meeting of the Academic Council. He reiterated that the Universitywide panoply of faculty government must be re-examined in the context of the impending massive delegation of authority to the chancellors. He was concerned that the Berkeley division not take a stance that might be interpreted in opposition to faculty participation in the Universitywide government. He noted that even though this is the 96th anniversary of the Academic Senate, the present system of active faculty participation grew out of the so-called Revolution of 1919-20. The present situation may well represent another strategic turning point in the history of faculty government in the University.

Then it goes on to say, "An extended discussion followed, motions were made, and subsequent motions," and all sorts of things. Finally what emerged was the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved that the Berkeley division notes that the Universitywide Academic Council, though an appropriate advisory body to the statewide administration, does not necessarily represent the views of this faculty to the President and the Regents. In any consultations between the statewide administration, the Berkeley

chancellor, and the Berkeley faculty, the last named can best be represented by committees of the division, either standing or specially chosen, which are responsible to it. Furthermore, only where important policy has been firmly established by the division as a whole can a committee speak for it. As of the present moment, the division deems that its standing committees are adequate to represent to the statewide administration, to other agencies, through proper channels, established policies set forth in various resolutions and senate-approved reports relating to the special field of competence of specific matter committees.

Well, this is a much milder resolution.

Nathan: Yes, definitely.

Grether: And it meant a softening of the positions and the attitude.

Now, in the background there was another aspect of this, and I recall this very dramatically, because during all this period of emotion the question arose in the Berkeley division of how they were being represented and whether the Berkeley division should not instruct its people who moved forward to the assembly and the council as to how to vote on certain issues.

I recall that meeting very well, because Dave Krech, I remember, got up on the floor of the senate and shook his fist at me. [laughter] I asked him about this last year sometime. I was very sorry to hear about his death this summer when we were away, because we often sat at the same Faculty Club table. That's a nice thing about the senate, the fact that you know people, you see. You have your disagreements in the meetings, but after all, that's part of the operation.

Now, this list of instructions of delegates got to be a rather hot issue, and I said I didn't like it. I wanted to go forward with a knowledge of what the Berkeley interests are, but I wanted to listen to the debate as a whole, then make up my mind. In the record of the statewide assembly, this issue is discussed in the October 28, 1966 issue, and I'll read the following statement.

It was the consensus of members of the council that delegates may be instructed by their divisions, but such "instruction" should not be regarded as imposing an uncompromising rigidity upon the freedom of a delegate to exercise his or her best judgement and discretion on matters before the assembly. It was noted that the chairman of the division had the responsibility of properly representing the position of his division regardless of his personal beliefs.

That, I think, refers to the minutes of March 28, where this matter had been further discussed. Now, that seems like a reasonable and sensible position.

In the meantime--I hope this is not dragging things out--

Nathan: No, this is very interesting. This whole problem of being informed and/or instructed faces almost every organization.

Volman Committee Report (1966): A Think Tank

Grether: In the meantime, the assembly had set up a special committee with Professor Volman of the Davis campus as chairman, to study the whole problem of the statewide organization of the senate in relation to the divisions. And in the March 11, 1966 Record of the Assembly there is their report of this committee. It's a very lengthy report, and obviously I don't want to put all this into the record here. I think it is on the whole a good report. For example, it says here under the general comments and conclusions, "This committee has taken a position, however, which is probably not controversial, that there's general agreement on the need for some degree of Universitywide organization for the Academic Senate. We have further accepted as reasonable the increasing trend towards greater autonomy of the separate campuses, without trying to define the presently best limits of this autonomy." Please note that this is '66; we're still in the middle of the turbulent '60s.

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Grether: Okay, I'm going to begin on page 9 of this same report, if that's agreeable. I have been reading from this report of the Volman Committee.

We have seen from this perspective many of the Universitywide committees are working effectively. However, we find a general difficulty in the functioning of the assembly and its committees, which we wish to call to the attention of the faculty. We believe there is a general failure, sometimes slight and sometimes more serious, on the part of the Academic Senate to take the initiative in policy matters. It is too seldom that the senate initiates needed reforms related to Universitywide activities. Statewide committee business, especially in the Budget and Educational Policy Committees, and in the Academic Council, largely consists in responding to the initiatives of the administration or other non-senate agencies.

Typically, it is the administration which has taken the initiative in identifying and characterizing the problem. It is the administration which has prepared the working papers and proposed policies which form the original basis of discussion. It is the administration which determined the initial timing of the presentation of proposals for discussion and which often set the deadline for senate response. It is true that the senate committees and the assembly had great latitude in responding to these initiatives. Counterproposals are not uncommon. Nevertheless, one may ask, are these the issues, are these the basic definitions of the problems, are these the basic priorities which a senate as a faculty-oriented body would independently propose? What would the agenda look like, and what would the shape of the proposals be, were the senate to develop more vigorously and on its own initiative a faculty-oriented conception of the nature of the University's problems, and the shape of its future?

Considerations such as these lead us to believe that the senate too often finds itself with committees simply following the lead of the administration. We believe that only through the exercise of initiative on academic matters can a senate bring to bear most effectively its complementary contributions to goals of the administration. We suggest that the improvement of the sense of direction and the exercise of initiative by the senate is a crucial need for a continuing development of faculty influence on the entire university.

Now, this goes on at some considerable length. It discusses, for example, the limitations of the council. These are all busy people, chairmen of divisions; they're important people, and they meet and they discuss, and they advise and so on. But they probably are not in the position to take initiative on things. They can react, but--I'm not sure that he's right on this, but this is the view taken.

Therefore it is proposed (to me this is extraordinary) that a new senate group, an agency of the statewide Assembly and the Academic Senate, be chosen in an appropriate fashion by the senate. This group should be concerned with a continuing broader view of the situation and the prospects of the University insofar as these are concerned with the senate. This group should be small, perhaps three or four members, so that it could meet frequently and carry on its deliberations informally. It should have no administrative duties. Its members, although persons of wide University experience, should be faculty, having no other major committee assignments at the time. The group should have the major functions of (a) keeping the assembly and its committees informed as to matters of concern to the statewide senate; (b) requesting a committee of the senate to investigate and report to the assembly on the subjects of general concern to the senate.

And so on. In other words, they were cutting out of the Academic Council some of what it was supposed to do, and giving it to a little think tank, a group of people. This led to establishing a statewide policy committee, which was in operation for a small number of years. I tried to get Dick Powell on the phone yesterday, but couldn't. He was chairman of it for a while. It is now gone. Now, why?

My guess is that this was one of those good/bad ideas. Theoretically it looks very good to have a small faculty group of people to meet quietly with no administrative responsibilities and think about the problems of the University and come up with some initiatives. They would be the counterpart of the president and the chancellors, who have their staffs and assistants who come along with their proposals of changes, adjustments, or whatnot. Actually, apparently it didn't work.

Last night, for bedside reading, I continued my reading of a book by Doris Kearnes on LBJ. Maybe you've read the book.

Nathan: No, I haven't.

Grether: It's a very exciting book. Somebody gave it to us to read before we went to Texas, as background. [chuckles] What I read last night was a very strong position by Johnson that initiatives must come and will come only from the President in the administration of this country; that Congress cannot take initiatives. It is an old, old issue.

Nathan: Of course, it is.

Grether: Actually, he was wrong, because Congress from time to time does take initiative when things get bad, but it's not active until there are crises or whatnot.

Here, this same issue is arising in the University. How can the faculty, instead of merely reacting to the president and the chancellor or, in the case of a school, the dean, develop initiatives of its own? My guess is that it's the kind of problem where there's no solution. At times of crises, faculties will take initiative, and that has been true of University experience, and it's true in federal administration. But normally the administration, for one thing, is equipped with staff, assistants, you see.

Nathan: A very good point. I was wondering about the staff of the council. Does the council have a staff?

Grether: No. The Berkeley senate has no staff of its own. The Berkeley senate uses campus resources for its secretarial assistance.

Nathan: Right. But that's not what I was thinking of with respect to staff.

Grether: No, no. We had no research assistants. These are faculty members who would meet. If they get any assistance, that would be from their own divisions or from their own campuses, whereas the president has a whole battery of vice presidents, and underneath each of these there are staff assistants. It's true of the chancellor; the chancellor of this campus has a tremendous hierarchy of people, all of them equipped with assistants. It's reasonable, therefore, that the staff would come up with suggestions, supported by evidence based upon studies. In contrast, the senate is in a relatively weak position.

This finally culminates, so far as I am concerned, in a paper I prepared. On May 8, 1966, I received a note from Angus Taylor, saying that President Hitch would participate this summer in a meeting of presidents of multi-campus university systems from all over the country. "He has asked me to prepare some background material for his use. It would be most helpful to me to have a statement of your views on the problems associated in a multi-campus system like ours with (a) faculty/administration relationships, (b) faculty organizational structure for the system as a whole, and (c) determination of academic policy, particularly as it relates to inner-campus transfer of students. Comments on other aspects of a multi-campus system would also be welcome."

Nathan: It sounds like a request for a dissertation.

Grether: It is.

Balancing Centralization and Decentralization

Grether: Well, I prepared a dissertation. Here are nine pages, single-spaced, of comments. I won't read this. I think I would like to have you take note of the fact that this is available. President Hitch acknowledged this, said it was very helpful to him. I hope this is true. I took a lot of trouble with it. In a sense, it capsulizes my reaction to my experience from the standpoint of University administration and University government.

I would like to mention one or two things rather than talk about this in detail. I've mentioned this problem of centralization/decentralization as a continuing problem, but I also point out that the University is the most conglomerate of all conglomerates. It's the most complex; there's no business that has an organization as complex to administer. A business firm that faces this kind of a situation would optimize the delegation of authority and responsibility. I think that's true. That's what they'd do at Hewlett-Packard. They decentralize, you see, down to the guys doing the basic research and development of inventions, and give them a lot of freedom, and then they bring them together into the firm's affairs as a whole.

Then I point out that the multi-campus, multiversity could too easily become a holding company for relatively discrete units, on the one hand, or a stifling, over-centralized bureaucracy. The problem is to maintain an appropriate balance between centralization, delegation, and decentralization, with the full realization that the quintessence of the entire operation is being instilled throughout the entire system in teaching, research, and relations of faculty and students. Top boards and top administrators can and should do no more than provide facilities, opportunity, the climate, and general policies. It would be impossible for them to intrude at the grassroots level of teaching and research without really destroying--without interfering in what this is really all about. And then I point out that this means that there must be upward impact in a federal system from the grassroots level in order to overcome these risks that we have in a stifling bureaucracy.

The one thing I do like to stress (I raise the issue as I develop this) concerns two groups which I think are not

properly represented in universities. One is the so-called non-academic personnel. I've never liked the sharpness of our distinction between academic and non-academic personnel. The so-called non-academic people are very important members of the University community, but they're second class, and I don't think they're properly brought in in participation in what goes on. The other group, the students, have felt this also. [laughter] This I discuss in some detail, and maybe you'd want to look at this sometime in the future and decide what we should do about it--maybe put it in an appendix or even a follow-along.

I raise a question which to me is very important. Unless the non-academic personnel and the students feel they have a stake and really belong in some sense to this University community in which they are, a great deal is lost. Remember, this is written in 1968, as we have come through all the stresses and strains, and we're trying to reach some conclusions.

But then I also reach the conclusion that active faculty participation should not be at the expense of administrative authority and responsibility. Strong administration and effective faculty participation, that's my position. That's the best of both worlds, and that's why it got to be a great University--that strength on both sides. But I feel we should find ways of bringing the two groups into a sense of belonging and of identification with the University.

Nathan: I'm so interested that in addition to teaching and research you also mentioned--what was it, community service?

Grether: Yes, public relations.

Nathan: Yes. Not every faculty member thinks that way.

Grether: I think if you had been in the School of Business you would have. [laughter] That was a very important aspect, and it is; it's continuing. I suppose people in the sciences would be aware of this also.

Now, as far as I am concerned that's as far as I think we need to go today, unless you would like to ask some questions.

Nathan: This has been extremely helpful, because it gives enough framework and interpretation so that one can really see how

the system works and what some of the problems are--some perhaps insoluble, or just continuing.

Skill of Individuals in the Academic Senate

Grether: See, underneath all of this is a sort of thing that's almost impossible to put in, and that is the skill of individuals within the system. Maybe I ought to have one or two comments just to represent that.

In our system you get professionals of a sort. This is one thing I learned early. I would go to a senate meeting, and who was sitting in the front row but Charlie Lipman. There were the people who were the dean of the graduate division and other deans; there were the people who were on the whole the leaders of the faculty. They were leaders why? Partly because of their ability, and partly because they would take the time. Now, some faculty members will not take the time. When I was chairman statewide, I remember one of our Regents came to me and said, "I understand that the people who have the highest ranks of salary and are the most distinguished on the faculty do not participate in the Academic Senate." He said that to me. I said, "Well, that's subject to verification." So I went to Wellman, who was then statewide vice president, got a list of all these top-scale people in the University, had their records checked in terms of Academic Senate participation, and found them no different from faculty in general. They were at least as active, and maybe more so than the other members of the faculty, so I was able to report this back to the Regent. Also, it satisfied me.

Nathan: Of course.

Grether: There is a common view among the younger faculty members that the thing to do is to stay away from all this, you see, because it won't benefit you in terms of progress within the system; but that's an incorrect generalization. I was glad to be able to check this out to the satisfaction of this particular Regent, and to my own satisfaction.

Another thing is this matter of the professional--the people who are especially skillful, say, in senate affairs and who take the time. Some people resent them. They say,

"Oh, well, these are practically politicians." I don't look at it that way at all. If he's willing to take the time and he does a good job, I think he should get credit for this type of leadership. Some people discover they have facility and like this sort of thing--committee work and senate participation.

Nathan: I can see what the benefits are, but what would the penalties be if one determines this is worth the time?

Grether: The penalty is, of course, that he will not be as productive in his research and writing; this takes time. In my view the reward system should give him credit, and it does. I won't mention names, but I know people who did get to be professors without very much writing at all, but who were useful senate members. There are one or two right now. They had no list of publications, but they're very active in the senate, and also most always are good teachers. They go together in this type of participation; they reflect a type of interest. They may not be good researchers in a full sense, but maybe they're in fields where research in the same sense as in the sciences is not possible, is a different type of thing. It may be that they're performing a greater service by giving time to University administration, or to worrying more about students.

There's one man on the campus I liked, and many people misunderstood him, and that's Franz Schneider. Remember Schneider?

Nathan: Yes, I do.

Grether: His whole life was devoted to trying to improve teaching.

Nathan: He had a student rating system, as I remember.

Grether: Oh, yes, I have a file on Franz Schneider someplace. He's deceased now. He was always worried about this teaching aspect. I don't know whether he published anything or not; probably he didn't do very much because he was giving his time. I always thought it was useful to have somebody like that who does have this as a major concern, whereas many people do not take this kind of active interest.

Anything else you would like to ask?

Nathan: If you would care to say anything about how people achieved positions of leadership in the Academic Senate. Am I right in thinking the Committee on Committees makes selections?

Grether: Yes. I served on the Committee on Committees one time, so I saw it operate, and I assume it's still operating similarly. The Committee on Committees has before it a roster of the people eligible for committee work. It will have also an indication of their service currently. It will try to spread this committee service around throughout the faculty so that it's not concentrated merely in the hands of a few so-called "professionals." After it makes these nominations it will approach these people to see if they're willing to serve, and this is a problem.

Let me give you an example. I have been chairman of, or a member of, the Clark Kerr Award Committee ever since it started. I was chairman of the original committee, but now I'm going on leave--leaving for Texas--so I'm dropping off the committee. I was approached by the Committee on Committees as to a problem. Two members of the committee have turned down the chairmanship; they say they're so busy with other things they feel they can't do this, and they want me to do it. I said, "I won't be here, so I'll have to resign from the committee." Yesterday Van Kennedy came in. He's retired, but he's coming back on the committee again to be the chairman because he's willing to undertake this responsibility. In the meantime, the Committee on Committees has had refusals from one or two other people, and this is not uncommon. Of course, the committee doesn't necessarily know when people are planning to go on leave, or what their other responsibilities are, so it's kind of a search process throughout the entire faculty to get people who are qualified and willing to serve.

Nathan: Do they have to be full professors to serve?

Grether: No, but it's a tendency to take associate or full professors primarily. It's rather unusual to get assistant professors serving on these committees. In fact, I think they should bring them in somewhat earlier and start them to work on these committees.

Research and Teaching

Grether: In many parts of the campus I think younger men are advised to stay away from this sort of thing and to build the publication record. I could give you many examples of exceptions. My feeling is that to be happy and successful in this environment one should have a research record, because you belong then.

You can move forward, maybe not quite at the same rate, but you can move forward without a record. But without any research record, that does create real problems. Two days ago someone was mentioning a problem on their faculty, where an associate professor does no research at all. This is a sad situation, because how can you get him up? If they've brought him along that far, and if he's doing well in teaching and, say, departmental university service, I'm inclined to think they should at some point give him the full rank.

Psychologically it's difficult. We had a situation like that in our department one time. A very good teacher had a more practical stress than many of our faculty, and therefore a clientele of people who felt that he could relate more effectively than others to the world they were going into when they got into business. He had written, I think, only one book review all his life, no articles, no research at all. He was brought up to the associate professorship, and then he sat there. When he finally died, it was very sad psychologically. He felt it all his life, you see.

Nathan: No doubt his friends and colleagues urged him to do more, but could he just not do it?

Grether: These things are very, very difficult. Some people seem to have a psychological block on writing. I tried to protect them, and us, against that when I was recruiting so as not to bring people of that sort into the faculty, because they would always be misfits. If they are really doing a first-rate job in teaching, there ought to be some way to take care of them so that you don't have this kind of unhappy situation.

We had one man of this sort in accounting--a very good teacher, and the students were aware of the quality of what

they were getting from him. He seemed to have a psychological block in writing. Finally another man worked with him and got a book out.

Nathan: He needed a collaborator?

Grether: That was the only way to do it in this instance. He took the man's ideas and helped put them in shape. Now, why these things occur, I don't know. I'm inclined to think that unless people start writing early and do it as part of a way of life--if they wait too late, it's almost impossible to break out of that kind of a block. So my advice to young scholars, including myself, is to start writing and keep on writing.

Herbert Bolton told me one time, when I asked him how in the world he had such an enormous list of publications, that "I make it a point to write at least one page every day of my life." I think that's very good. That's his way of life, you see. I feel the same way. I always have a paper under way.

Nathan: Yes, you've written so much.

Grether: Well, not as much as I would like to, considering other things I have been doing. I was down at some meetings in San Diego recently with the Western Association of Collegiate Schools of Business, and they gave me a little plaque as having been a founding father of this organization way back 25 years ago or so. It was a very pleasant occasion. One of the deans (there's a group of deans) said, "How many papers do you write a year?" That told me something. They think I'm active, you see, because so many deans give up; they become administrators. To me, you don't quite belong here unless you're not only teaching but you're doing your research. It's part of the way of life, and part of what makes you happy in this type of environment. It's been sad to see people who have done only one of these things, and don't quite feel that they are meeting all the criteria for appropriate recognition. This has happened to quite a few people, unfortunately, in our situation. It has been discussed a great deal. When Clark Kerr was chancellor, I remember one time at this administrative conference he said, "They can't all be above average teachers." [laughter]

Nathan: Wonderful.

Grether: We've made enormous efforts to try to find a way to demonstrate effectiveness in teaching, and the trouble is that sometimes it can't be demonstrated in the short run. It's only after students have been out ten years that they look back and say, "Why, this man was a fine teacher. I learned more from him, but at the time I didn't realize the significance of what was happening in this man's class." It's a very difficult problem to get a proper demonstration of effectiveness in the teaching side.

So far as I know (and I think it's maybe time for us to quit), when I was chairman and had to make these appraisals, the only man, I think, where I could use superlatives that fulfilled all the criteria, was Clark Kerr--literally true, that is. He was a strong teacher; he could conduct a big class on an informal basis. He was excellent on University administration; as a professional, he was recognized as one of the top men in the field in the world. He had a list of publications always; he was doing his research and writing. He was participating in public service of the state and the nation, and so on. At all levels he was a top performer.

I was always amused after he became chancellor and president that I still had to review him as professor, because his professorship was still kept alive. Until he got to be president, he was still teaching. I often wondered if he got to see these reviews. This is what fooled Reagan, see. When Kerr was fired as president, Reagan didn't understand that he still had a position as professor, which he came back to until he retired. When Reagan made that famous statement, "When you fire the coach, you don't make him assistant coach, do you?" [laughter]

Well, let me say one more thing. I suspect this might be true of Kerr; we'll look at it next fall sometime. So far as I'm concerned, the professorship is a more important title than dean or even chancellor. I think that is what the University is all about. That is the top rank and top position, and the administrators, deans, or whatever they are, really should be trying to create a climate and bring the faculty into participation to do the most effective job possible. The real work is done by the professor as a teacher and in his research. That's what it's all about. Is that right?

Nathan: Exactly. Yes, that makes all the sense in the world. Well, that's an elegant statement.

XXII UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS: SPRING SEMESTER SEMINARS (1978)

[Interview 17: June 23, 1978]##

Nathan: Are we going to talk about Texas today?

Grether: Yes, I hope so. I was explaining that this was unusual for me to go off like this to another university. I've turned down many. Why I wanted to go to Texas might be a good beginning.

Nathan: Yes. Why you went to Texas in your summer vacation is what I'd love to hear.

Grether: Well, it wasn't my summer vacation; it was the entire spring semester. Usually I turn down these opportunities, but when the University of Texas came along I couldn't resist. Why do I turn them down? Well, look around the study; I'm tied to these materials. Time and again when I was in my seminars at Texas, I wished that I were home and could reach to this set of files back there, or take this book off the shelf, because I'm dealing in an area of public policy where there is movement every day. I have to have the backing of this systematic collection of materials.

But Texas has intrigued us for many years. We'd been down there a number of times on special occasions, like lectures or attending conferences, or attending a retirement dinner for one of the former deans. I might mention, unless I've done this already, that that retirement dinner gave me one of my best "dean stories."

Nathan: I don't think we've heard this. Do tell me.

Grether: The dean was Jack Spriegel, of whom I was very fond. He came in out of business; Texas likes to have businessmen as deans, at least in recent times. He'd been a plant manager, plant superintendent, for General Motors. At this retirement dinner I noticed that there weren't so many faculty, so I inquired, "Were they invited?" I was told yes, so I thought I'd better drop the subject.

A year later I met a faculty member somewhere else (I think it was at a conference in Colorado), and I saw him again this last trip, so I checked this story with him, and this actually occurred. I asked, "Now, just what was the situation there?" He replied, "Well, I was just about the only faculty member who had a kind thing to say for the dean." And I said, "What in the world did you say?" He said, "Oh, I said that he did not intend to be a mean son-of-a-bitch." [laughter]

Nathan: That's a Texas compliment.

Grether: Well, I used that at my retirement dinner here in 1961, because, actually, if you take one of these positions you have to be a bit of that sometimes, because you have to make decisions that people don't like.

The Texas Trail and Background

Grether: But why go to Texas? Well, Texas is a very exciting place, and in recent years it's following the same trail that California followed, so I wanted to have a chance to look over the state. Also, much of the background is similar to that of California--strong Spanish-Mexican background.

There are some differences. For example, I have before me this beautiful atlas prepared by the Bureau of Business Research, and it shows the six national flags that have flown over Texas at various times and at intervals. I didn't realize this: Spain, 1519-1821; France, 1685-1762; Mexico, 1821-1836; then the Republic of Texas, 1836-1845 (they were an independent republic); the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865; and the United States of America, 1845 to the present, with the interlude of the Confederate period.

But it's much more mixed than that. There are, of course, the Latinos, reflecting the Spanish and Mexican; the French period; but there is also--I didn't realize--a strong German influence. Forty miles east of Austin, where we lived, is Fredericksburg, and they have a huge banner as you come into the city celebrating Admiral Chester Nimitz's birthplace. Admiral Nimitz was born there, and they are making a great deal out of that. They are having a world's fair there this summer for the admiral, to celebrate this. I must call up Mrs. Nimitz sometime.

Nathan: Apparently a new biography of Nimitz has been published.

Grether: I wonder if this notes Fredericksburg?

The Germans came in there, like many people, when there was a great land mass that needed people. A German nobleman got a land grant, but apparently he was no administrator, or was maybe even an ass. The historical materials are pretty mixed about this. But anyway, these people finally arrived, and no arrangements had been made. They were dumped on the sea coast and started trekking inland. Many died on the way. It's a tragic story of human migration. They finally became located in the middle of Texas. Many of them survived, and Fredericksburg was one of the centers of this German colonization.

It's interesting that in Fredericksburg they are restoring what they call the Sunday House, or Sontag Haus. These German farmers who lived out in the countryside would want to come to town to do their shopping and to go to church, so they kept little houses in Fredericksburg where they would live over the weekend. These are being restored now and are part of the interesting environment of Fredericksburg.

In any event, Texas has always intrigued us, so we couldn't resist, Carrie and I, taking advantage of this opportunity. We were delighted, because we had a tremendous experience down there. One of the problems was that we covered so much ground. Carrie stayed at home and painted her impressions of coming into Texas, and also read history, and we'd talk about it then. I was down on the campus working on my courses and talking to people. I was out in the community a bit, and I think between us we put together quite a nice set of experiences.

Classes, Texas-Style

Nathan: What did you teach?

Grether: I taught a senior seminar and a graduate seminar on marketing and public policy, chiefly for doctoral candidates.

Nathan: This has been your central interest for a long time?

Grether: Well, it has been since I retired as professor. This was the first time I taught undergraduates in 35 years. I didn't tell them that.

The business school at Austin has 15,000 students, most of them undergraduates; about 13,000 or so are undergraduates. It's an enormous institution. The result is that these undergraduates, for the most part, get their education in large classes. They have some very fancy multi-media classrooms, where you have TV and all sorts of devices used with assistants behind, putting in things. The lecture becomes a planned show. One of the lecturers told me that he has a habit, when he finds the students are getting a little bored or don't want to pay attention, of throwing a nude on the screen. Immediately their attention becomes focused again. [laughter] It's a different form of instruction than we have here. It does something that I think isn't really too good; it takes away the spontaneity. The undergraduates are being taught in these very large classes with the help of all sorts of mechanical equipment. It's done very well, indeed.

Nathan: Do they have smaller discussion sections?

Grether: Yes, there is a very tremendous reliance upon assistants. That is, I noticed when I visited a class that every lecturer would be flanked by his assistants, and the students would tend to deal with the assistants, not with the professor himself. That I don't think is a healthy situation either, for the most part. There are many more assistants relatively, I would judge, than there are people on the full academic staff. Sometimes these assistants were teaching even upper division classes themselves, and as far as I could tell some were doing a very good job.

In the field of marketing, where I was closeted, they had a requirement that all the majors must take a seminar as seniors, so I was giving one of these seminars. The students were not prepared for seminar type of instruction. We struggled for about half the term before they really settled down, I think. I had to make it clear that a seminar meant interaction. It meant doing something by them.

Texas and Competition Policy

Grether: Also, I was teaching in the area of marketing and public policy, stressing competition policy, which you've heard me talk about in these interviews. This was also one of the reasons I wanted to go to Texas, because it has been one of the very few states in this country that has consistently enforced competition policy, right from the beginning. In fact, their so-called antitrust law was passed a year before the Sherman Act; they followed Kansas. There was a small number of states which enacted state laws a year or two before the Sherman Act, and a number of states had antimonopoly provisions in their state constitutions.

One of the tragedies of our country was that once the federal government entered this area, the states dropped back for the most part and turned the responsibility over to the federal government. There is always the problem of what is intra-state and inter-state in terms of responsibilities in this area, but Texas was not one of these states. It has had consistent enforcement of competition policy, as I prefer to call it, ever since 1889. I had a research assistant who helped me collect materials, and I tried to relate my work and my teaching to the Texas background and to the current scene in Texas. I found this very interesting and revealing.

I was able to talk to some of the people, like previous attorney generals and two judges on the supreme court, and a number of people within the university as well, as to why Texas has been so unusual. This is a very intriguing question. Why should the state of Texas in 1889 enact a law? By the way, it was a tougher, different law than the Sherman Act. The Sherman Act was very general, merely putting the common law into the federal statute. The Texas

law was much more specific, with much more stress on specific practices and conduct. In fact, I suppose one could say that the Texas law, in a sense, prepared the way for the Clayton Act and the Federal Trade Commission Acts of 1914. In a sense, Texas was ahead in terms of the specific nature of the requirements in the law. The Texas law passed in 1889 was amended a number of times, so by the turn of the century there was a solid base in Texas for enforcement, which has been consistent. Now, why?

Well, I discussed this with Judge Robert Calvert, who for 22 years was the chief justice of the state Supreme Court. He's the Roger Traynor of Texas. By the way, he knew Roger Traynor and spoke very highly of him.

Views of Earl Warren and L.B.J.

Grether: May I digress for a minute? I found when I talked to the people on the legal side and mentioned Roger Traynor, they all knew him. When I mentioned Earl Warren, dead silence. Finally, in the case of one man, I couldn't resist pressing him. He said, "Well, it's like this. I didn't dislike him or object to him as much as most people in Texas." That's literally true. There's still that hangover of Earl Warren.

Judge Calvert told me a very interesting story, if you don't mind a digression. At the time of the Warren Commission hearings in Dallas, one of the local deputies found himself in a bit of a quandary. Warren was quizzing him very specifically about what happened, about the location, and he tried to keep from talking about a sign that was up at that location. (I never heard this story.) Finally Warren said, "Well, what was the sign?" The deputy said, "It was, 'Impeach Earl Warren', but it was only a little sign; it wasn't a very big one," trying to relieve the situation just a bit. [laughter]

This is a very interesting phenomenon, and I think it has deeper aspects. For example, L.B.J. [Lyndon Baines Johnson] dominates this whole area--the library, the school, the radio station; you can't get away from L.B.J. around Austin, but there is a problem here. They didn't like his civil rights position, you see. One theory that we picked up is that Vietnam was atonement to Texas for his civil

rights position. He implemented the Kennedy civil rights platform, and the strong position he took in Vietnam in a sense was just reversing the field. In the process, many Texans were made millionaires through contracts, you see. To what extent this is valid, I don't know. Austin is considered to be one of the more enlightened centers of the South, but you still feel there is something here that is different in terms of the general attitudes and the like.

Well, to go back to antitrust. Fortunately, I found some people in the business law faculty who'd done some excellent work. A man named Allison had written an interesting paper which I could draw upon and give to my students, and a man named Michael A. Duggan, who had spent seven years in Washington with Lee Loevinger and others in the Department of Justice, has the interesting combination of teaching computer science as well as the antitrust area. I found him a very able man who knew a great deal about both the local and the national scene. So I took full advantage of these opportunities.

What it boils down to, I think, is that this sort of thing that you see in these flags (refers to atlas) gave the Texans a sense of independence and of individualism that is maybe somewhat unique. I want to come back to that, because Carrie and I both felt there was something different psychologically here. People, for example, as you meet them even on the street, speak freely. They welcome you. They are outgoing, they're friendly, but there's a limit to it. For example, we lived in Tarrytown, only two miles from the campus, and there were no sidewalks. There were high fences. I inquired about this, said, "I don't understand this." All I could get out of them was, "Well, people like their privacy." They like their independence. It's a different psychological atmosphere than in Berkeley, for example. Also there's a basic conservatism.

The Three Communities of Austin

Nathan: Do you feel any sense of community? Do they think of themselves as Austin people?

Grether: Yes, Austin's very proud of the fact that it's the lowest-cost state capital to live in in the country. It's a beautiful place.

I heard this discussed by the editor of the newspaper, who had been living in Austin for only a year. He was on a radio program that I happened to turn on when I was shaving one morning. He said there are really three communities in Austin. There is the university; there's the state capital, with all the civil servants, legislators, governor, and all the rest; and there is the downtown business community, which now is moving out into suburbs also. This was, I thought, very revealing. It's like Berkeley. We've always had the downtown business community, we've had the University, but not the state capital.

To bring the state capital into this mix complicates it enormously for the university. It was really unbelievable. You'd stand on campus, and straight down here one mile is the capitol building. The university faculty and employees are mixed in with the civil servants; they live together and they know each other. Then there's the downtown business, just like in Berkeley.

The civil servants employed by the state tend to be a bit jealous of the faculty, who don't go to work on a regular schedule. We felt certain that the retired civil servant and his wife who lived across the street from us were watching me, wondering when I'd go down to work and what I was doing with my time.

Also, maybe the salaries are a bit higher sometimes for the faculty, and this creates a real problem, this mixing the two groups. One result is that the salaries and the perquisites of being a faculty member at Austin are not what they should be, considering the wealth of the state. The university is the second richest university in the country in terms of endowment. It's got all these oil lands from which it gets a revenue, yet the salary scale is not among the top, and it has no sabbatical system. In my collection of materials I could show you clippings where it says, "The legislators wonder whether the faculty are working enough," and they wonder about giving them additional research support; they should be teaching. But they do not trust them enough to give them a sabbatical system, which is a great handicap, because that's an enormous asset to a university, as I've experienced all my life here.

Nathan: Did you have the impression that the state government more closely controlled the university at Austin than would be true in California?

Grether: Oh, yes, but California is trying to do it. The state government invades item-by-item, line-by-line.

In addition, the Texas Board of Trustees are appointed by the governor for six-year terms. The governor has a four-year term. The result is that the Board of Trustees and the university system are in short-run politics. It's inevitable. Presidents come and go. When John Connally was governor, he had a man named Frank Irwin on the Board of Trustees whose job was, if the president didn't behave, to get rid of him.

Nathan: [laughter] That's academic freedom.

Grether: Well, no. The story is that Connally wanted to build up the university, but the result is that Austin is full of ex-presidents, and the present president, a charming woman named Lorraine Rogers, is apparently on the ropes, too.

Nathan: Do they have tenure as faculty people?

Grether: I don't know. I suppose they would have if they were professors. I talked to two or three ex-presidents while I was there.

It's a very interesting situation. My conclusion is that it is a handicap to the university to be next door to the state capital, to be under the direct view of the governor and the legislators and to have that mix of civil servants and the university as it is in Austin.

Comparing Texas and California on Antitrust Policy

Grether: Well, that was quite a detour from competition policy. To come back to it, Texas, for example, has never had a fair trade law. They did have for a brief period something called a loss limitation law, which was declared unconstitutional, by the way, by Judge Calvert, who wrote the opinion for the Supreme Court. That was similar to our

unfair practice law of this state. For the most part they have avoided much of the type of legislation that we not only had in California, but often pioneered. We were the leaders. To me, since I had been a specialist in this area, it was very interesting to try to get the background of this, but when I'd inquire, they'd tell me, "Well, they don't like to be told what to do; they have a very high spirit of independence." My guess is that it's deeper than that. The structure of the relationships within the state were such that very likely the economic interests happened to coincide. For example, I was told that the newspapers opposed resale price maintenance. Now, why? My guess is that they were getting a lot of advertising from price-cutters, that their economic interest lay in that direction.

In any event, it is literally true that Texas has been one of the very few states with a consistent antitrust or competition policy ever since 1889, or even perhaps earlier, whereas California has only recently become active; we had a law passed in 1907. I think I mentioned earlier in one of our interviews that I have never found a student in my class, in all these years teaching at Berkeley, who had heard of California's antitrust law. It would be different in Texas, because it has been actively enforced. So this is a different environment, so far as Texas versus California is concerned.

The problem we have is how far to go into this sort of thing. I have a great collection of materials. I'm even inclined, maybe, to write a paper on this sometime.

Do you have any questions that you'd like to follow up along this line?

Nathan: I was interested in a number of things you said. One was your drawing parallels between the development of Texas and California. Texas is an industrial society?

Grether: Yes, it's industrializing now. It was a rural society.

Moves Toward Industrializing

Grether: One reason for the original interest in the antitrust type of law was that the great landowners and cattle raisers

found themselves in conflict with the railroads. Our Sherman Act and our Interstate Commerce Act, passed three years before the Sherman Act, came out of that same granger/agricultural type of situation, and there was some of this in Texas. The difference was that this type of populism was checked to some extent by the strong conservatism of the large landlords and so on. They wanted something that would help them in relation to the railroads and to some of the buying combines. They talked a great deal about the beef combine, for example--the packers. Or, maybe before Texas became a great oil-producing state, about the oil; there was a very famous early oil case. So this was all in the background. It was not a populist expression as you'd have up in the Middle Western area--Kansas and up into Minnesota. It was tempered a great deal by the peculiar nature of agriculture and the tendency for a certain amount of urbanization.

Texas is very similar to California from this standpoint. We became urbanized, and they developed some strong urban centers. We struck oil, and they struck oil. It was the oil in both these states that gave the cheap energy base for modern industrialism. Texas has a larger energy base, but it now is following along the same path of development that we did in California. In fact, Texas, I would say, is in the same situation now as we were following World War II.

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Grether: You may recall from an earlier discussion that I was chairman of the Industrial Development Committee of the state Chamber of Commerce from 1946 to 1961, so I had a ringside seat to watch this upward push in California. Texas is doing exactly the same sort of thing now, and that was another reason why I wanted to go down there, to observe this. My guess is that you'll find some of the same attitudes, and also some of the same mistakes that we made being made in Texas. I may have mentioned earlier that I take great pride in the fact that I gave a talk to the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce in 1955 pointing out that we were not paying attention to some problems that were going to have to require attention.

Nathan: Are you thinking of pollution?

Grether: Pollution is one. Also congestion, lack of public transportation facilities, and so on, and so on. The best example in Texas, of course, is Houston. Houston takes great pride in having no plan, no zoning, and it's like Los Angeles, just growing and growing and growing.

Water Problems and the Climate

Nathan: Are there water problems in Texas?

Grether: I'm glad you mentioned that, because I didn't realize this aspect, which may check Texas before it catches up. As you know, I have been involved in the water development of California, first with the Central Valley Project back in the 1930s, and then more recently in connection with this tremendous recent plan as a consultant. Somehow or other I had missed the fact that Texas has a water problem. I shudder to think of how artificial things are in Arizona and in California. We've escaped now--the drought is over--but suppose it happened again? We have built societies on a very artificial basis.

Texas has a problem, too. The eastern part of the state has rivers--some rivers with a surplus. Then there are great arid areas also. They developed a water plan which at one phase would try to tap the Mississippi River and bring water down from it, and from another standpoint would, at the very minimum, divert some of the water from the eastern rivers where they have excess, to the other parts of the state, like we were doing in California. But this was voted down in Texas. One man who has just written a doctor's thesis on this area told me that this may limit the growth of Texas eventually--this uneven distribution of water and the lack of a water plan as we have worked it out, for better or for worse, in the State of California.

Texas has some other handicaps--the climate. We were glad to leave Austin, and Austin is one of the more pleasant places.

Nathan: Does it get very hot?

Grether: Well, it was getting in the 90s when we left, but the humidity is also up there then. The humidity gets up high

in the 90s, and the temperature from now on will be in the 90s and up to over 100, with humidity up in the 90s also. This explains something that's very interesting. Carrie and I were in a church service, and Carrie said, "Do you see that woman up there?" I said, "Yes, what about her?" She said, "Look at the soft lines in her face." We started thinking about this. Jaworski, notice, has soft lines; Connally, soft lines. The people down there, especially in Houston, get accustomed to living inside under air conditioning. Unless they work at it, they are not strong physical people, because they really have to take this.

We have a friend on the faculty there who told me a story. He'd come from Kansas to the UCLA faculty. He'd come home in the summertime, go to the refrigerator, and take out a can of beer and sit in front of the TV, and then another can. Pretty soon he'd consumed a six-pack of beer, sitting there inside his air-conditioned home. He jumped from 160 to 200 pounds, and soft. So he and his wife just took stock of it. She's a ballet dancer now, they both jog six or seven miles a day, and play tennis; he's in great physical shape, and he's down to about 160 again. But many Texans apparently can't go through this kind of a regimen. We noticed the softness of people who live in this kind of an environment and don't take steps to keep themselves in proper physical condition.

What were we talking about before I diverted on this?

Nathan: We were talking about water problems, drawing parallels between Texas and California.

Grether: I said Texas has some handicaps, and the climate is a very serious one. Also, Texas is such a huge state. Occasionally, when I had nothing else to do, I'd just look at the map of Texas. I learned, by the way, what is meant by the Panhandle. Do you know what this is?

Nathan: No, I don't, really.

Grether: It looks like the handle of a pan. That little thing that sticks up, that's the Panhandle. Now, that's such different country than down the bay, around the gulf areas. Texas is really at least six economic regions, with very different conditions. It's an enormous state. Actually, it's two-thirds larger than California. It was the biggest state until Alaska came along and dwarfed it, of course, and hurt

its pride by making it number two. But it is now the number three state in population, and coming up rapidly in terms of economic development.

In this environment, and with this political history, a sort of conservatism and individualism tends to permeate, and is always in the background. Yet it isn't really real.

State Budget

Grether: For example, Harriet, I have with me here the budget of the state government. I first went to the telephone directory. Greater Austin has 350,000 people. It takes eight pages of small print in the telephone directory to list the state agencies.

Here is the Legislative Budget Office biennial budget report. Actually, what is happening in Texas, regardless of their continuing reference to free enterprise and individualism and being independent and so on, is that practically everything that you find in California government is in Texas. It's creeping in, item by item.

This budget, for example, that they were putting in for the year, the legislature appropriated for the maintenance operation of the Texas State government approximately \$16.8 billion (that's for the biennium, by the way), an increase of 25 percent over the previous year. This was for 1977 to 1979, a two-year period, though; you have to keep that in mind. If you go into this, you find almost every human problem is recognized in some form in some kind of an agency.

Nathan: Do they provide welfare in Texas?

Grether: Yes, but not as much as we do. It's not nearly as high a level, but it's there.

Nathan: How about support for education?

Grether: Well, education is supported very well, but again, the university has some direct income from its own lands that have oil and gas incomes.

Coordinating Higher Education

Nathan: I was also wondering about lower-level education, up through community college.

Grether: This is a tremendous story. (I think this is a good way to do it--just jump around, if you don't mind.)

I have with me, for example, a report from the Coordinating Board of the Texas college and university system of all the aspects of higher education in Texas for the year 1977 to 1978. After I looked at it for the first time, I made the following note: "Unbelievable constellation or galaxy of systems and their satellites and independent units." It is a tremendous thing that's growing, and there is no master plan, like there is in California. This is Clark Kerr's genius, I think, to try and get some semblance of order into all of this.

I mentioned to one or two people down there, "Should you have a master plan?" And they said, "Thank God we don't have it." They take great pride in not. It sounds very much like the early period here. Earl Warren wanted to do some planning, but the word was anathema. That frame of mind exists very strongly. Yet you do have a coordinating board, established in 1965, I think, which doesn't have authority, for the most part. It's advisory to the governor, and to the legislature and to the members of the system. Clark Kerr told me one time that he was offered the headship of this after his retirement here, and it had a very high salary.

This [the Coordinating Board position] is an enormous responsibility. You start here with the public senior colleges and universities and go down through public medical, dental, nursing, allied health schools, to independent medical, dental and allied health schools, to independent senior college and universities, public community colleges. There is almost a whole page listing of public community colleges in the State of Texas. They are a tremendously important aspect. This is a growth area, as you know, in higher education. The Sun Belt and the community college area--these are the growth areas, and Texas reflects all of this. Then there are technical institutes. This is a tremendous area.

As of this particular report, it shows a head count of 725,016 students enrolled in these various institutions, public and private, in the state. Now, the Coordinating Board in Texas, as in other places (these boards are very common; we have one in California, too), would like to have more authority. For the most part they are advisory, under the needs of a very rapidly growing system. At the university, for example, the Austin campus, for the fall of 1977, had 41,660 students, and if they don't stop this, it will keep on growing. Berkeley had the same problem. Part of what happened here under Kerr was to put ceilings on our campus. They haven't done that yet.

Nathan: Do they have other campuses in addition to Austin?

Grether: Yes, but they are relatively recent--the University of Texas at Arlington, at Dallas, at El Paso, at Permian Basin, and San Antonio, for example. The biggest of these is at El Paso. No, Arlington had 17,000 students, El Paso 15,000, and Dallas 5,300. They are highly uneven in terms of the facilities and the number of students, with Austin the Berkeley, the original center.

The thing that amazed me at Austin was no green places left on the campus. This money they have in their endowment can be used chiefly for buildings, not for faculty salaries, so they erected an enormous set of buildings. For this reason I didn't feel the pressure of students there as much as at our campus. They have such huge buildings, and the students can get back and forth to their classes relatively easily with this great collection of buildings in a very compact area. And also the stadium (there's ours, up the canyon) sits almost in the middle of the campus. It's a very interesting situation in terms of physical planning, as well as watching the flow of interaction within the campus.

So you now have a statewide system with a chancellor, and underneath him a president. Then each campus has its president. The whole thing is moving as far as the state system is concerned, but in relation to all these other systems that are also growing and developing.

Aspects of Race Relations

Grether: I couldn't quite come to grips with what's happening to the Negroes, though. There are Negro colleges also, but there are relatively few Negroes on the Austin campus--a very small minority.

Nathan: Are there many Chicanos?

Grether: Oh, yes, the Latinos, they are there in great numbers. Many of them, of course, are citizens, and many have been there a long time. There is considerable feeling between some of them and the others, as far as I could tell, but that was something too subtle for us to understand in the brief time we were there.

I think it can be focused most clearly in terms of the Notre Dame-Texas football game, which Texas lost this past year. I had a young man in my seminar who runs a radio station in south Texas. He said he'd love to have an athletic announcer in Spanish, because most of the people who hear his radio station are Spanish, but they're all for Notre Dame, because they're all Catholic. [laughter]

Three Great Names in the University

Grether: There are other aspects of this. Don't let me forget to talk about Roy Bedichek, because it belongs in this whole discussion.

Nathan: We can talk about him now.

Grether: All right, let's do it, then.

I mentioned that L.B.J. hangs over Austin, but within the university there are three great names, just like we have our Henry Morse Stephens and so on. But they are not names of presidents, on the whole; they are names of faculty members. I wonder if you can guess. Who would you think would be the names in the Texas faculty?

Nathan: I would imagine there ought to be somebody in business administration.

Grether: No, I was thinking historically. Who would be the Henry Morse Stephens?

Nathan: I'm afraid I can't even give you a guess..

Grether: There are three names: J. Frank Dobie, Walter Prescott Webb, and Roy Bedichek.

Now, the first two I knew of, but I didn't know Roy Bedichek, who in some ways is the most interesting of all. J. Frank Dobie we can dispose of rather quickly. He, like Walter Prescott Webb, was a liberal, which is unusual, and very prominent in the university community. But he also happened to succumb to what is called cedar fever. There are a lot of cedars in the Austin area, and apparently eventually something happens so you react very violently. During the period when the cedar pollens, he would have to leave, and would go to California or to England or someplace else. He was not popular with the trustees and the conservatives.

Dobie has written a large number of things interpreting Texas. I went to the library here, just for the fun of it, and I found there are [searches for reference] 89 cards in our library under his name, though many of them are duplicates, of course. Dobie, who is sometimes called the cowboy historian, has written a lot of material. In a sense, he is the Herbert Bolton of the University of Texas. I went to check Bolton, and he has 50 percent more cards than Dobie in our library, but this is Bolton's home base. I suspect that if I'd gone to the library in Texas I might have found more.

Dobie was a very prolific writer who became very well known, not only in Texas but around the world. He spent some time in California and England. He got to represent Texas and that whole background. His list of writings is very interesting in terms of interpretation, like the book on the mustangs. For instance, I didn't know until we got down here that probably the greatest revolution on this continent was the introduction of the horse. Did you know that?

Nathan: . I didn't.

Grether: When the Spanish came in with horses, the Indians were all on foot, throughout this enormous continent. The Spanish came along with their horses and their trappings, and some of the horses became wild. This is in the book on the mustangs by Dobie. Some horses were stolen by the Indians, and the Indians, especially the Comanches, became superb horsemen. An Indian on horseback with a bow and arrow was more than a match for a Spaniard with his heavy equipment, so the Spanish were stopped dead. If it weren't for the mustangs, it might very well be that we'd be Spanish in this country. This moved up north in the whole plains area, and the Indian became a superb horseman. Ferenbach, in this mammoth history called The Lone Star, a history of Texas, says that this is probably the greatest revolution to occur, in terms of its consequence.

Walter Prescott Webb's name appears in the faculty center; it's called the Walter Prescott Webb Faculty Center. He also was a strong liberal. He wrote a book, for example, Divided We Stand, and many things of this sort that I'd like to collect if I could find them in the second-hand book stores. This man had an enormous impact on the university community also.

In his book, Divided We Stand, he has a famous chapter called "The Milk Bottle Episode." Divided We Stand is called "The Crisis of a Frontierless Democracy," and is dedicated to the small businessman of America. [reads] "By small businessman, I mean a merchant, manufacturer, or farmer who is not able to keep a lobbyist in Washington." [laughter]

This chapter called "The Story of the Texas Milk Bottle," tells the story of how out in western Texas, in a little community there, they began packaging milk in bottles, and making the bottles. There happened to be a clay for local purposes. They didn't realize (or maybe they did) that they were using equipment that was patented. Eventually this caught up with them, and they were put out of business. He tells the whole story as an example of how small business is denied its right. I can't imagine anything more humorous than this, or more made to order for his purpose. The National Association of Manufacturers, on the site of this factory (which was razed when it went out of business), put up a sign, "I'm Glad I'm an American." [laughter]

Nathan: Gorgeous irony.

Grether: Yes. And they call it the Free Enterprise and Opportunity sign. Well, this is built up, of course, tremendously by Walter Prescott Webb and his story, but Texas is just full of these kinds of ironies, with the conflict between individuals and modern industrialism.

Another book I read, which I want to try to find a copy of, is W. J. Cash's The Mind of the South. Did you ever hear of that book?

Nathan: Yes; I haven't read it, but I have heard of it.

Grether: I read it entirely. Carrie and I both read it down there. It's the only thing he wrote. He published this in 1941, and then died, poor man. He has an exceedingly enlightening interpretation of what he calls the mind of the South. Someone, I understand, has tried to update this from 1941, and I'd like to find out who that was and see just what the nature of this updating is. It was among the things that we were reading together, and trying to put into our background of thinking.

Roy Bedichek on Educational Competition

Grether: Now, the one man we mentioned that we didn't know is Roy Bedichek. It turns out that he fits exactly into my whole competition analysis. Also, he may help explain some aspects of the individualism as manifested in the State of Texas. I'm not sure of this, but as we advance here you'll see why.

Roy Bedichek was most of his life the head of the Interscholastic League of Texas, and he wrote a book called Educational Competition: The Story of the University Interscholastic League of Texas. I don't own it, but I photostated some pages of it, and the foreword and the first chapter. The book was published by the University of Texas Press in 1956. Now, the thing that interests me here is that the league is not a haphazard sort of thing, as many of these are. Once you got into it, the thing was planned statewide to organize rivalry or competition, not only in athletics but in all aspects of what went on in the schools

in Texas. They are all competing with each other on the basis of planned rivalry.

Bedichek points out, and I am quoting now from his foreword, "Competitions both intramural and interscholastic may be said to form an especially vigorous growing area from which many shoots and branches sprout. The present study is concerned with rivalry as a motivating force in the education of the young, and more especially with interscholastic competition as a means of using to advantage this competitive urge, impulse, or instinct."

In other words, Texas since 1895, and more especially since the end of World War I, has had the whole state organized on this basis of maximizing the impact of competition or rivalry among the school kids. This is rationalized very beautifully by Mr. Bedichek. It takes many forms, and it's not all athletic. Let me read here:

The purpose of this Interscholastic League, as stated in the preamble, is to foster among the schools of Texas interschool competitions as an aid in the preparation of citizenship, to assist in organizing, standardizing, and controlling athletics in the schools of the state, and to promote county, district, and state interscholastic contests in debate, declamation, spelling, essay writing, arithmetic, writing, reading, extemporaneous speech, athletics, and music memory.

So this is much broader than athletics.

He was involved for about 45 years directing this, with hundreds of committees scattered throughout the school system, trying to direct and control. This rivalry, you see, would be under rules of the game, directed in such a way as to make it praiseworthy. He was aware of the fact that there is another side of this. Here is a discussion of the praise and condemnation of the use of rivalry.

The first chapter of the book I found exceedingly interesting. It's entitled, "Rivalry as a Means of Inducing Effort." It's an historical analysis, going all the way from the ancient Chinese and the Greeks down to the present

day. It notes, for example, that in ancient China rivalry was misused. There were very few jobs in the public sector, and there was strong competition for these jobs. They brought the contestants in; he speaks of 30,000 little cells where people would be crowded away, taking these tests going on for days. Out of this would emerge those who were winners. The rest were losers.

He mentions how in modern England this is going on, too. They organize only those who would go ahead in higher education. Only 40 percent were allowed to go ahead; 60 percent lost. At age level they would take these tests, and that would decide who would be allowed to go forward in the system of higher education.

In Texas, apparently, they tried to use rivalry on a planned basis, in a healthy manner. That seems to be the impact of all of this. They apparently emulated the ancient Greeks; they found rivalry there on a more healthy basis. For example, the Dialogues of Plato are interpreted to be a matter of conversational competition. This is very interesting, you see. I'd never gotten onto this.

Now, here's my reason for putting all this in here. Is it possible, since this has been organized in the State of Texas for decades now, that it may have had a major impact upon the attitudes and accomplishments and achievements of people coming out of the Texas school system?

Nathan: Is there any way to monitor the consequences of this?

Grether: I don't know. It would be useful to throw this at some of our people in the educational field to see if there ever have been studies made.

A whole state has been organized. This has happened in many other states, but I've never heard of it organized so thoroughly and rationalized--that is, having worked through the basis of competition as employed by various civilizations.

When we were in Russia, by the way, we noticed that Russians were using rivalry very effectively within the factories. The workers would compete as groups and teams and so on.

Expressions of Rivalry##

Grether: I mentioned that the Russians were making very effective use of rivalry and competition within plants, and in the educational system. Only a small proportion of people get up to the top, based upon highly competitive examinations.

It would appear that Texas may have found a way to do this in a much more healthy manner, right from the start. But there are critics. I suppose some of the progressive education people say you shouldn't have this kind of rivalry or competition among school kids. Yet this is exactly the reverse of their thinking. They have tried to keep it on a healthy basis, thinking that it's something that contributes to education and to the development of individuals. It may very well contribute to the subtle individualism we felt. There is a certain independence among people in Texas. Sometime I'd like to check on this some more to see what educators make of this.

Nathan: Does it give a kind of self-confidence?

Grether: Oh, yes. For example, there was a girl in one of my seminars who just exuded self-confidence. She's going to law school. I said to Carrie that she reminded me of our oldest daughter, who also does this. I notice this in others. There's a certain type of self-confidence that emerges in those who have come through this system. We have a granddaughter who was just made to order for this. She just won a declamation contest in her school in Altadena, Pasadena. She wins musical contests galore. She just is a natural; she thrives on this. Now, her brother doesn't seem to want this at all. Our son, his father, didn't seem to want this at all. It varies with individuals. But some people thrive on this opportunity.

Competition policy, which I teach, when effective is effective through the market system. It's making use of this force on the assumption that it will have a beneficial impact upon production, efficiency, lower costs, if it works. As Alfred Marshall pointed out, a higher level of behavior is cooperation, but most people probably can't work at that higher level. Most people thrive better under rivalrous conditions. This is something that's highly

variable; you can see why you get strong differences of opinion.

In my seminar I happened to mention the Russian statement that people in Russia don't want to buy the products made toward the end of the month when the Russians are trying to meet their quotas, because the quality deteriorates. A boy in the seminar said, "I worked on an assembly line in Detroit, and you shouldn't buy cars made after a long holiday, because the assembly line goes a bit to pieces, too." This may explain some of the lemons you buy. I had never thought about this at all, but it's a very basic problem when you organize people on a quota system and give them special rewards for meeting quotas. You may not be able to control the quality factor to the same extent.

Of course, all this comes to a peak in Texas in athletics and in football. This is really unbelievable, in terms of the fever pitch. Years ago when we were down there we went to a game in the stadium, which was opened by prayer. They don't do this anymore, but we were told by a faculty member that the last time this happened the minister said, "Dear God, may there be no unnecessary roughness." [laughter] This reflects what I've been talking about. How far should rivalry go? What should be the nature of the expression? No unnecessary roughness, but we've got to win the game.

The Notre Dame-Texas game is really a very interesting spectacle from this standpoint, because Texas is Baptist and Notre Dame is Catholic. This doesn't get into the publicity, but it's in the background. Texas is full of Catholics, too, who are probably all rooting and praying for Notre Dame. [laughter]

I couldn't resist occasionally trying to joke a bit about this, but I found it was no joke. Some of my friends told me that on the Board of Trustees it's more important to win these football games than almost anything else.

Nathan: The academic is secondary?

Grether: It's secondary still. Despite all the good work of competitions in arithmetic and declamation, the athletic side still leads.

I have in my file a statement prepared by my research assistant, who came from a little community called Garland, up in the Dallas area. I said to him, "Just interpret what you saw." It's a very revealing document. Every Friday night everybody goes to football games--the high school game. Their little local team are all heroes. Once they won the state title, and they became tremendous heroes.

The whole state is geared in terms of athletic competition, as well as other forms of competition. I would love to be able to discover to what extent this has been on the whole a beneficial or other type of influence in the whole system.

Do you have anything you would like to ask further on this?

Nathan: This is fascinating, but I do want to hear what you have to say also about the churches.

Attending Church in Austin

Grether: We made it a point to try to get a very broad experience. One of our friends in Berkeley who is from Austin, Ravenna Matthews, said we must visit her Baptist church. We decided to do it, and then we found ourselves in a problem. I went to the telephone directory and found there were 72 Baptist churches listed in Austin, Texas. Can you believe that?

Nathan: It's hard to believe.

Grether: It's literally true. There are some Methodists, and there are some Presbyterians, and there even are some heathen, I guess, but this is literally true.

Fortunately, we picked the right one, the First Baptist Church, downtown. Since she lived down in that area, we went to the right church. It's a tremendous building and organization, and just a tremendous experience to go there.

Nathan: Did they have a Sunday school?

Grether: Everything was there, yes. Adult groups, about three or four levels of it. The organ is so tall that it would fill the entire sanctuary where we attend, St. John's. It's

covered in fishnet, which is draped nicely over it. The first time we went there, I said to Carrie, "Something has to be wrong with me; that organ is disappearing." But it was. They have what they call "the disappearing organist act." She sits up there in the open, and all of a sudden the organ goes down, and she goes down with it into the pit someplace. It's a tremendous spectacle.

Nathan: Was it well attended?

Grether: Oh, yes, of course. They have a parking lot right across the street, a big parking lot right downtown. It must be a very wealthy organization.

But the last time we were there an episode occurred that just amused us no end. The minister, a man called Browning Ware, I think, a tall, good-looking man, who was a very strong oratorical revivalist type of minister, obviously was always watching his audience. Halfway through his proclamation--they call it a proclamation, not sermon--he stopped and said, "There's something wrong here today. I'm not getting through to you, and it's not because I'm not prepared. I am prepared. I think Satan is in this audience today." Carrie almost raised her hand at that point. [laughter] This was like throwing that nude on the screen that I mentioned. He got their attention focused again on him this way, and then he went on with his proclamation.

I talked to a young lawyer I met there, and he told me that there is a very literal-minded approach. His client was also a Baptist, and a fundamentalist Baptist. He was telling this young lawyer that he was in danger of Hellfire, I guess because of some of his habits. The lawyer said, "How do you know there's going to be Hellfire?" The client said, "'Oh, I can prove it to you. Our minister told us about a man who's bad, very bad, in California. He cheated on his wife, he drank, he was on drugs, he was doing everything bad, and then he became ill in the hospital and was dying. All of a sudden he said, 'I'm burning up; I'm burning up'. Our minister said Hellfire was reaching for him right there already, in the hospital.'"

This lawyer told me that he has clients who will give \$15,000 a year to the church. Even when their business is bad, it comes off the top. Very loyal, you see. An extraordinary phenomenon, the strength of the Baptist church, and 72 Baptist churches in one city.

We went to a couple of Presbyterian churches. We are Presbyterians, you know. The last time, the sermon was on being born again. He started with the story of Nicodemus, and then gave five examples historically of being born again, starting with the Apostle Paul, and St. Augustine, and ending with President Carter, whom he touched very, very lightly. I noticed that all the Texans touched Carter very lightly. They're proud to have another Southerner in the White House, but for some reason there are some limits. Georgia, after all, is not Texas. In any event, he talked about how each of these born-again situations were different. There's no pattern here. Then the last sentence of this sermon was--and he finished this abruptly--"Do not let these born-again people intimidate you." [laughter] It was interesting; this is a different world down there.

Nathan: Do Texans see themselves as Southerners rather than Westerners?

Grether: Oh, yes, yes.

Faculty: Suboptimization and Overspecialization

Grether: Maybe we ought to turn to something more professional--that is, the School of Business, and one or two things there. Is that agreeable to you?

Nathan: Yes. This is all interesting.

Grether: We had a tremendous experience. I really want to do some more reading. This is a very interesting part of the world. I have an invitation to go to the University of Arkansas next year. I just can't do it again, but it could be equally interesting.

Well, I was at the School of Business Administration. There are two schools, like here--undergraduate and graduate, with the undergraduate carrying this enormous enrollment, about which we have talked. I was in the Department of Marketing Administration, which occupied the seventh floor of a seven-story office building.

The faculty is large, obviously, with a lot of assistants. I found the assistance factor was ideal--supplies, that sort of thing, and assistants better than here. I had a part-time assistant, and I could help myself to supplies. Everything was wonderful at that level.

One thing I didn't quite like was what I would call excessive suboptimization and departmentalization. Do you know what I mean by that? The faculty members were in their own little burrows, digging, and they didn't seem to integrate and cooperate broadly. Here I was in a group on the seventh floor of this building. For the most part, on that floor they knew each other but they didn't know the people underneath.

Nathan: They were competing, not cooperating?

Grether: Yes, that's right. Literally so. You've put your finger on something. Why? I have a long background on this. I noticed years ago when I was active in the Association of Collegiate Schools of Business that the southern schools were very sensitive. They realized that they didn't have the same quality, but they were very ambitious. This is where the big growth in higher education is occurring, in the southern area. They want to move up and achieve the level of distinction and recognition that some of the northern schools have. The result is that the faculty member is under very great pressure to produce. I was told that the dean keeps a list of this sort of thing.

Nathan: Are you suggesting publication?

Grether: Publish, publish. One result of this is that they tend to overstress small publications, little papers, to get a lot of it out. But they are getting better known, and they are very active and professional. This, to some extent, is at the expense of group thinking. For example, the building is called the Business-Economics Building. Economics is on the third floor, but there is very little cooperation between economics and the other people. That's true in general. I would say it's excessive suboptimization and overspecialization at the expense of a broader type of interaction.

This may be a short-run phenomenon, of course, derived in part from the same thing that's true in the state. The State of Texas is moving up economically, and the

educational system is moving up. Both are getting recognition, and both want more recognition. One feels the pressure of both of these developments. To some extent this gets almost a bit out of hand, but it may be a short-run type of situation.

One of the most interesting aspects of this situation is that right from the top on down, so far as we could tell, there is some sacrifice of group spirit, the sort of thing we feel in Berkeley. Partly, I think, it's because the presidents never last very long, and they're so busy defending themselves that they haven't time to set a pattern. I may be wrong about this, but I have a feeling this runs right through.

They have an academic council, but I don't think it's anything at all like the Academic Senate's role here. They seem to break up in decentralized schools and groups. I don't have the same sense of oneness that you have here.

There's also another difference. The School of Business recently has been very successful in getting funds and getting buildings, and there's a certain jealousy, therefore, inherent in this kind of a situation. Just this next year they're setting up a new College of Liberal Arts, which will merge three of the existing units into a bigger college. My guess is that's to some extent to offset the influence of the professional part of the campus, which relatively is a little more powerful than it has been here. To some extent we've had the reverse situation here.

Dean Kozmetski's Story

Grether: One of the most interesting persons that I met down there, who is very important in this whole play, is the dean. His name is George L. Kozmetski. His story is a typical one of success in this country, and I think it's worth recording, because we became very interested in meeting him and his wife. He's a Russian immigrant originally. He met his wife in England, I think. His family settled in the Seattle area, and he's a graduate of the University of Washington, undergraduate. Then he went to the Harvard Business School and got the Doctor of Commercial Science degree there, and was on the Harvard faculty briefly.

From Harvard, he went to what was then called Carnegie Tech (and is now called Carnegie-Mellon) during the early period when it was a very small but powerful group of people, with a small student body. Herbert Simon, who left you people at IGS (you had a major loss there) was there. Kozmetski was working there with Herbert Simon and another man named Holt, and another man who became president of the American Economics Association (Modigliani). A very fine group of people. He tends to look back on that as his school and academic period.

Then from that he went to Hughes Aircraft, and from Hughes Aircraft to Lytton Industries. At Lytton Industries he met among the executives there a man named Henry Singleton, and they left Lytton about 1960 or 1961 and established Teledyne Corporation, which has been exceedingly successful. Have you ever heard of Teledyne?

Nathan: Yes.

Grether: How so? I'm curious.

Nathan: In a rather peripheral way, that it was one of the major growth industries, and that it was in some fashion central, so that it was related to a number of other developing industries.

Grether: It's a modern--we used to call them "conglomerate," but the Forbes people call these "multi-corporations" now. The word conglomerate got to be a term of opprobrium.

Well, I had Dean Kozmetski tell the Teledyne story to both my seminars, an exceedingly exciting story. These two men started out with about a half a million of their own capital, and he said they never had more than \$10 million of new capital. Their assets now are \$2 billion in this corporation. It's been a tremendously successful enterprise. They started out very largely in the defense area and, as soon as they could, got out of that. Also, they were in industrial products, and they have more recently gotten into consumer goods also. But they didn't know the consumer area. For instance, Water-Pik is one of their products in the consumer area.

Nathan: It's not basically computer related?

Grether: It's communications related. Their stress was in the communication and information systems area, to begin with. That was the base, but the base has been broadened and diversified. Partly, when they get a chance to buy something so they make some money, they do it.

Administration: Business at the University

Grether: After listening to this story of success, I interrupted the dean and said, "How could you leave that and become dean of the School of Business?" His reply was, "Oh, it's the same sort of thing." But it isn't. This represents a very nice problem. I don't think being dean of a school of business is the same thing as being one of the executives of Teledyne.

As I watched the situation there, it raises a very nice question. The kind of decisions that Singleton and he and others make at the top are basic decisions. They can make them. You can't come into the university environment and make decisions in that particular way. I may be wrong, but I sense that there was a dichotomy between the administrative side and the faculty side, with a tendency to overemphasize the role of the administrator.

He did say something which I agree with thoroughly, that the university is the most conglomerate of conglomerates. That I would say myself.

Nathan: Yes, you've said similar things.

Grether: Yes, that's true. That to me means that you cannot administer from the top. The basic impulses must come from the bottom, where the teaching and research are being done. The role of the administration is quite different in that kind of a situation than it is in a business enterprise. That's the view I take, and therefore I was very much interested when he said it's the same sort of thing.

Dean Kozmetski is an exceedingly interesting person, with this background. He has very strong academic interests. He's in his sixties now, I guess. He hoped, somehow, to do the academic thing. He collaborated on a book with Herbert Simon and Holt and Modigliani. The four

of them collaborated on a book on information systems when he was at Carnegie. He's brought Holt to the faculty; he's now head of the Bureau of Business Research there. He has brought a man named Charnes from that faculty to the Texas faculty. He's tending now to go back to that period in his life and bring up people. That was probably the peak of his academic experience.

He finds himself, you see, in this very dynamic university environment. As far as I could tell (I'm not sure whether you want to put some of this in my final report or not), he's exceedingly successful outside with the business community, as you'd expect.

Nathan: Exactly.

Grether: Yes, because he's been so successful himself. The day he talked to one of my classes, one of the students asked him how many shares of Teledyne he has. He said, "Oh, I'm really not interested in those things, but I guess I have 400,000 shares. Then there are some shares in family foundations, too." Well, 400,000 shares, as of that day, would be \$40 million in that one stock, and he's got many other things also. A very successful man in business. It is hard for a man of that sort to feel at ease with the ordinary business school dean or professor who hasn't had this experience.

He's a very strong dean. He's been able to round up resources. He's established what is called the Institute for Constructive Capitalism. He's trying to get \$20 million in that. If he's successful, this can be used to offset the lack of sabbatical, because he could put faculty members in that on a research basis. In fact, the president of the university smelled that rat, so when this came to the Board of Trustees, she opposed it very strongly. She said, "If you do this, he'll be out from under control of the president's office." But the vote was nine to nothing against her, so it indicates his influence at the top level hierarchy and also in the business community.

Well, I could go on and on, but it was exceedingly interesting for someone like me, who's been a dean, to have my sensors up all the time trying to absorb what is going on there. It's clear that this is really a very tremendous experience, this interaction between a man with this kind of background, who has strong academic standards and urges, and

a faculty that doesn't always understand or react on the same wave length that he is on. But he has built resources, and erected a beautiful new building.

Nathan: I was wondering about this. One would assume that he would have access to the big industrialists.

Grether: Yes, he does, and he's apparently very successful at bringing in funds.

The Scarboroughs

Grether: Well, shifting to a different level, among the more interesting people we met there was a Mrs. Margaret Scarborough.

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Grether: I was talking about Mrs. Margaret Scarborough as an example of a very interesting person I met in the community. I met her at dinner with one of the professors on the faculty. The Scarboroughs are the original merchant family of this area. Like many other areas--for instance, if you go to Missoula, Montana, there was a merchant family there that was very important, but their institution has been bought by a national firm. There is Hink's in Berkeley. Almost every area has an original merchant family. The Scarboroughs were the one in Austin.

But unlike Hink's and the one in Missoula and many of these family institutions, Scarborough's is surviving. It's owned now entirely by a daughter of the Mrs. Scarborough that we met; her name is Margaret Wilson. She has all the stock, and she has brought in executive talent from other areas, and Scarborough's is trying to adjust to meet changing conditions, as well as increasing competition. For example, Foley's, which is a major southern group, is building a store in the suburbs of Austin, and there's a lot of competition. You have to be alert and adjust in order to survive.

Well, the mother's story, Mrs. Margaret Scarborough's, as she told it that evening, I think is worth recording, especially for someone like myself. Like myself, she came

out of the manse. Her father was a Scotch Presbyterian minister in Dallas. He was one of seven generations of Scotch Presbyterian ministers. But something must have happened, because he was tried for heresy in the Presbyterian church in this early period, in the first decade of the century. I'd love to get the record of that trial, if it were available sometime. He apparently was acquitted, but it was a long and difficult trial. She mentioned that in the trial he was asked at some stage, "Do you believe that Balaam's ass really spoke?" His reply was, "I do not know for sure about Balaam's ass, but many asses have been speaking ever since then." [laughter]

Nathan: He sounds like a lovely man.

Grether: Well, she's very much a cut off her father's block. She's an interesting woman. She told us, for example, how she was only nineteen or twenty when she married Mr. Scarborough, who was in his forties. She said, "When this man took an interest in me, I said, 'Oh, dear God, we've always been so poor in my family'."

Well, she's no longer poor; she's a rich widow now, and her daughter owns this very nice local merchandising institution, which was a family affair. She's a very important woman; both are. Her daughter sits on a lot of national boards, and she's an exceptionally strong person, and the mother is really very exciting. She's very active in the social community, but she doesn't like to go to women's clubs; she much prefers the sort of thing where she sees men.

Nathan: Of course.

Grether: My wife understood this also.

Speaking of her, Carrie a time or two was taken to the Austin version of the Berkeley Women's City Club, which was quite a fancy place. She came home with a story. She was a guest of Mrs. Dolley. James Dolley received his Ph.D. here in the late 1920s. He was a professor of finance and vice president of the University of Texas. He died just the July before we arrived. I had hoped to see him, because I had known him. His widow lived only two blocks from us in Austin, so we saw her a small number of times.

She took Carrie down to a luncheon, and Carrie was there another time when Mrs. Kozmetski gave a luncheon. At the table where Carrie was sitting was a little old lady, just the nicest little person. I believe she was English. Something came up, and she said, "That reminds me of some friends of ours who had a parrot. He would pick up all the language, including the bad language. The family had small children, and they didn't want the parrot to be teaching the kids all this bad language. So one day when they were standing near the parrot, the woman said, 'We're going to have to s-t-o-p using the word shit'." [laughter]

I don't know whether you want this--

Nathan: I think it's a great story.

Grether: It is; it is. Along these lines, I might add something that I hadn't planned to do at all, but let's put it in.

I discovered a thesis written in the Department of Marketing Administration dealing with deviant behavior. It's a thesis dealing with homosexuality, and I found it so interesting that I have a copy of it. It's surprising that this should come up in the Department of Marketing Administration in the School of Business. What this man did--and he's now a faculty member at the University of Alabama--was to visit the homosexual bars in Chicago, along the Pacific Coast in San Francisco and Los Angeles and the southern cities, and take tape recordings and also make notes.

He has a tremendously interesting thesis. A lot of things about it I didn't know at all. He has seven levels of homosexual bars, for example, and describes what goes on there, how they're organized. I suppose this is justified as analysis of business institutions. They are businesses; also, they are marketplaces. It's a very interesting story. For instance, the patrons don't face the bar, they face the door, watching who's coming in. They are looking for partners. Well, I just put this in. I was surprised to see this coming up.

The chairman of the committee was my next door neighbor, Professor Tucker. I said, "Didn't you have trouble getting this approved?" He said, "Oh, the Graduate Division didn't want to approve this at all. They gave us an extra committee member or two, but all the committee recommended

its approval, so it stands." I got a copy by writing to the place where you can get copies of theses. It's a summary of an area where I was so uninformed. A friend or two since I'm here have read it, and it's unique. It's sort of like when Paul Taylor went out to see the migrant workers. He was going into this area where there was so much activity socially and politically, and making his recording and interpretations.

I just put that in by way of a little sidelight.

A View of University Social Life

Nathan: I get the impression that people were hospitable to you and your wife, and took you around and gave you an opportunity to meet others.

Grether: Yes and no. This is a very interesting thing. They were very--not hospitable, but friendly. I'm glad you mentioned this, because it helps sharpen what I've been talking about. We found that, at least in the groups in which we were, there is very little social life. They see each other at work, and the women see each other to some extent in something like our section clubs. The woman who wants to can go out and get acquainted. Carrie didn't see any sense in doing that for just one term. She went to one or two of those meetings, but she didn't continue with it. We were in some homes, but not nearly to the extent that we anticipated from a Berkeley standpoint.

Nathan: So bringing people into the home is not as established, perhaps?

Grether: Our impression is that, at least in the university community, it varies a lot. I was told that the accounting people are very sociable. They're almost a separate group. In fact, they'd like to have a separate school of accounting. They have a great social relation among members of their own group.

The faculty I was in doesn't seem to be organized that way. They're all suboptimizers. Well, there happened to be a number of divorces going on, too; that may have affected things. In fact, one woman told me-she is a career woman

and so is her husband, very fine, very interesting people-- that the divorce rate among career people when both work with full-time careers is 73 percent. I don't know whether she was talking locally, but she mentioned this. There is a great deal of this in Texas--that is, both having careers, especially among the younger faculty.

To answer your question, what we discovered is that there's a kind of a palaver. It reminds us of when we first came to Berkeley in California. We were told during the first year, "Don't believe anything you hear, and after that, don't believe yourself," because at that time Californians were always boosting the state, telling about the marvels of the state.

Now, the typical Texas conversation would be, "Oh, I'm so glad to see you, we must get together." We were told, since we're back, that we should at that point have said, "How about next week?"

Almost always they'd say, "How do you like it in Austin?" They were very conscious of how we from California liked it in Austin. We would say, "We like it very much." We did; we had a tremendous experience, and eventually we got rooted. But it wasn't quite the same way we anticipated, and it may happen to some visitors here, too.

We developed some very strong personal friendships, but there was not literally the amount of activity--. We went to some of the general social affairs. For instance, the dean had two big social affairs, and his wife had one at the club. We were amazed at the small proportion of attendance at these. This apparently is supposed to take the place of more intimate gatherings. We always made it a point here to have a lot of dinner parties, small groups. Apparently that's not the pattern there, for the most part.

The Place of Economic Analysis

Grether: Now to go back to marketing, my field. I gave a number of talks to graduate students, and had a symposium at the end in which they brought down my good friend and collaborator, Reavis Cox from Pennsylvania. He and I and Professor Tucker, who was retiring this year in marketing, ran a

symposium on the developments in the field of marketing. I initiated it with the argument that in this symposium, as well as in other discussions down there, in the field of marketing we need to maintain and renew in strength a nexus with economics. In fact, just before I gave one of these talks, Aaron Gordon died; word had come to me, so I referred to the Ford Foundation Gordon-Howell study, which recommended broadening the base into the behavioral sciences. It was not intended to be at the expense of economics.

Now, what has happened is that in many of the business schools, and in the fields like marketing, the behavioral thrust has almost replaced the economics nexus, or relationship. In the area where I operate, the competition area, this is devastating. In my seminar there were two young women, very bright young women, who were trained in psychology, no economics at all. It's almost impossible; we couldn't talk to each other. One of them sat there the whole time and then took a Q--that is, no grade at all. The other settled down and read some things, and she came out very well indeed.

I am more and more convinced, at least in the types of problems with which I deal, that this movement away from economics--which I saw there, and is pretty well general throughout the country--is at the expense of things that are very important. For example, right above you there you'll see Professor Sullivan's book in antitrust law. I had that down there with me, and in fact I've written a review of it for the *Journal of Marketing*. Here is a book on antitrust, written by a law school professor, that begins with economics, but it's economics as taught and written, for the most part, by scholars in the field of industrial organization in economics departments.

In practice, both in the government side and in the private side (and this is why Sullivan is doing this in his book), the economic analysis is moving up in importance all the time. You have to be able to relate the legal side to the economic analysis. There's a broader aspect, as Sullivan points out. You get into the problems where it takes broader types of analysis, broader behavioral, environmental, and so on types of analysis. The base is economic analysis, at least for the time being. I felt this very strongly in the group in Texas, that most of them had no interest in economic analysis.

It's happening here, too, to some extent. Not to the same extent at all, thank goodness, but it's happening around the country. I do read the literature. There is a strong movement away from economic analysis into consumer behavioral problems, behavioral problems in general, quantitative analysis, and so on, not necessarily at all related to economic analysis.

I'm glad to put this into my discussion at this point, because it's a very important aspect of what I have done in contrast with some other people. I've been based in economics; I use this as a basis to reach out. Many of the people with whom I work are based not in economics at all; they are either sociologists or psychologists, or whatnot. The problem of working out a proper meeting of minds is becoming increasingly difficult, with a certain tendency for a lot of sub-specialties to develop. This is true, of course, in many disciplines. I understand in the field of psychology that it's so broken up that they hardly can have any basic homogeneity. I'm told that in the psychological association they publish eleven journals, partly to meet the variety of interests. In marketing at present we publish three journals, reflecting to some extent the variety of interests that have developed in the field.

Well, I suspect that's enough for today, unless you have some questions.

Nathan: Did we do all of the personalities in the School of Business Administration there, or would you want to pick them up another time? You mentioned that as something you might think about.

Grether: Let's think about that. That's the most delicate of all. I mentioned Dean Kozmetski. There's a very interesting faculty situation there, but I think we might put that on the back burner and think about it a bit.

There's a problem emerging here, I would think, of how much space you are going to have, whether it's going to be one volume or two volumes. [laughter]

Nathan: Then we can stop now and pick up later.

Grether: In the fall I would like to really pick up with the '60s, and then go into Clark Kerr.

Nathan: That would include the Institute of Industrial Relations?

Grether: Yes. Let's make a note of that. There's my collection of material on the Institute of Industrial Relations right there on that shelf. I'll put this down as an understanding for the fall.

XXIII INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS (1945)

[Interview 18: October 20, 1978]##

Nathan: This seems like a good time to get into the development of the Institute of Industrial Relations. I understand that you were the one who brought Clark Kerr to head it?

Grether: Yes. That's quite a story, and if you don't mind I think we should go in behind the scenes a bit. I've been spending the last few days trying to document everything, and there's only one piece of paper lacking in terms of being able to tell the whole story.

Warren's Interest in Industrial and Labor Relations (1944)

Grether: Actually, Governor Earl Warren should be given credit for this move, because sometime during 1944 I had a call from President Sproul, saying he'd had lunch with the governor. The governor felt that the University should enlarge its basis of education in the field of industrial and labor relations. He was looking forward to the postwar problems.

At that time--you especially will recall--Sam May had collected a huge postwar planning library in your institute.¹ I've heard there were 50,000 documents. Sam and others were warning the state to prepare for the great

¹The Bureau of Public Administration, later the Institute of Governmental Studies.

unemployment, for the crisis at the end of the war when we had to readjust to peacetime.

The governor was alerted to this sort of thing. From his point of view, the labor-management area was crucial. In the background was the Wagner Act that had been passed a number of years ago. Labor was organizing and moving forward, and there were threats of strikes. The governor had all this in mind, apparently, when he approached Sproul with this idea.

It turned out, once I got into this thing, and into my files recently, that it wasn't quite this simple. Actually, UCLA had a very strategic role--the people down there, I mean. There is a letter in my files here from Paul Dodd, addressed to President Sproul on February 17, 1944. I should remark that Paul Dodd has been very helpful. He came in this past week and spent some time with me, refreshing both of our minds. Before I talked to him, he sent me some materials. This is why I think I'm on very solid ground here.

In this letter of February 17 to President Sproul, Paul says,

On the front page of Monday morning's (that is February 14, 1944) New York Times, there appeared an account of the establishment of a state supported and controlled school of industrial and labor relations at Cornell University. Since this move is in a way similar to one which I have long hoped might be taken by the University of California, and is a first of its kind in the country, I am taking this opportunity of calling the proposal to your attention, with the request that you give the idea close consideration.

What interests me there is that he "had long hoped." My guess is that he might have planted this idea in Governor Warren's mind, but Paul does not recall that he ever did this. I called Clark Kerr yesterday to ask him if he knew anything about this. His feeling is that Governor Warren got this idea straight from Governor Dewey of New York. See, Governor Dewey had recommended this in New York State,

and, after all, it wasn't too much longer after this that there was the Dewey-Warren campaign for the presidency. In any event, Earl Warren made this suggestion to Sproul, and what was the source of his idea is not too clear.

I should go back to my discussion with Sproul. He asked me to go to work on this problem.

Nathan: Now, you were dean of the--

Grether: School of Business. The presumption at the time was that this would be an adjunct of the School of Business, at least in Berkeley, if something happened here. Anyway, Sproul asked me to go to work and consult with my colleagues, which I did, keeping in mind that we knew about the school being established at Cornell.

Then (I have the letter here someplace) on December 26 I wrote to President Sproul, at his suggestion, providing a brief statement for possible inclusion in the Governor's Budget Message the following January. For example, I state here,

No greater problem will face our state and nation at the end of the war than the character of the relations between labor and industry. We shall not be able to make an adequate transition to peacetime pursuits or build a stable and prosperous economic order unless organized labor and management learn to work out the solutions to their common problems on the basis of procedures and techniques of fact-finding, objective analysis, conference, and agreement within the bounds of the larger public interest. I have no illusions, however, considering our past and the strenuous days ahead, that solutions will be always or even easily forthcoming. We shall find it necessary to put our best efforts and intelligence to work on this hydraheaded problem.

Then I suggested a \$200,000 appropriation to establish not schools but divisions or institutes of labor and industrial relations at the University of California. Then I added, "or such similar administrative agency at the

discretion of the Regents of the University," in case he was firm in what he wanted to have--a school.

Nathan: You did not include agriculture? You were talking about industry?

Grether: Yes, that's right; agriculture certainly was not mentioned.

Well, in the Budget Message delivered to the assembly, January 8, 1945,--it was not an 8-minute talk, by the way--the governor recommended that the University establish a school of industrial relations.

Nathan: A school?

Grether: A school. He did not include a budget figure. The school was to be established "for the training of those who have the vision and urge to learn what can and should be the guideposts to the advancement in this important field."

Now, the sentences just ahead, I think, are very interesting and important. I'll read them.

Complete understanding in this controversial field of human relationships will never be brought about by legislation alone. Such understanding can come only in the course of collective bargaining by people who appreciate the common benefits to be derived from open and honest labor-management relationships. Such relationships will always be more dependent upon human relationships than upon law. The techniques in this field are at least as important as those in the field of business management and technological advancement for which our schools offer special training.

A nice statement. That bears some kinship to what I had said, but it's quite different wording. Also, he recommended the school. Now, so far as I can tell from my discussions with Paul Dodd and from the documents I've been able to find--and I've been in touch with everybody: archivists; I've touched every base--the UCLA people wanted a school, and they wanted it down there.

Nathan: They wanted it in Los Angeles?

Grether: Yes, they wanted it down there. In the collection of materials here is a memorandum that Paul Dodd prepared for Provost Dykstra down there, in which he describes what had taken place in Sacramento. He points out that a local assemblyman had sponsored the bill. The bill was to establish a school in Los Angeles. That was the first phase.

Now, as the bill progressed, other people got into the act. I'm sure Jim Corley was up there representing the University. As the bill advanced, finally it was changed to institutes instead of schools, and for Berkeley as well as for Los Angeles; it was to be statewide, with institutes on the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses. The figure that I had proposed, \$200,000, was restored.

So this seemed to be moving along all right. Then, in the rush at the end of the legislative session--just like we observed recently in Washington--the bill was almost lost, partly because the farm bloc became concerned whether this wouldn't tend to be socialistic or communistic in its impact. Maybe they smelled the same kind of problem that has emerged more recently in the agricultural field.

In any event, they came into strong opposition, and it appeared that the bill would be lost. Then the governor himself got into the act. They reduced the figure from \$200,000 to \$100,000, and it went to institutes, one on each campus. With the governor's firm support and prodding, the bill was enacted in the middle of 1945. That is the immediate background.

Now, there are some other very interesting things here.

Nathan: Does the legislature have to designate a new school or department or institute in the University?

Grether: No, I don't think so. No, in this case it was very unusual. Normally it's done by the University. In this case it was the governor's own interest, and it put quite a different perspective on this for the governor to get so energetically involved in establishing an agency on the University campus.

Well, on August 6, 1945, I was attending a meeting of the state Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission.

Governor Warren was present also. I took advantage of his presence, and of the opportunity, to talk with him. I said that the President [Sproul] and Jim Corley had informed me of his very strong personal interest in this development, and it would be helpful to me if he would give me his views, which he did.

He said something as follows: that he hoped this, which would start at the graduate and undergraduate levels in the University, would eventually have broad appeal, and even get down into the high schools. He envisaged a very broad program of education in this field. In fact, so far as I could tell--and my notes indicate this--his interest was really in the community relations and broad citizenship training aspects of the program. I asked him about research, and he said, "Oh, yes, there should be, of course, in the University a research base."

Then I said, "In our discussions, noting the developments around the country in other institutions--" and he was surprised at that point. He said, "Other institutions?" He thought the Cornell school was the only thing that was going on in the country. I said no, there were institutes and sections or centers at various institutions, like Chicago, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and so on, in addition to the Cornell school. This surprised him greatly. He thought he was doing something original. I think it offended him a bit to discover that he wasn't doing something original.

Program and Point of View

Grether: I went on to say that we noted that the orientation of these other programs was either from the standpoint of labor, or from the standpoint of the management-employer group. In our thinking, at least in Berkeley, we felt we should take a public interest point of approach. He responded very quickly to that. "Yes, that's right; you take the middle ground." Now, this is quite interesting, because later on, as our planning documents came along, eventually in the coordinating committee north and south, it was stated clearly that we planned to take a public point of view, but it also pointed out that that does not mean we necessarily take the middle position, which was very important. It is a

rather interesting indication of the difference, perhaps, between the point of view of the active administrator in Sacramento and the scholar who's got the job of effectuating a program.

Well, that is the immediate background. This whole development has a great deal of interest in terms of the University's history and in terms of our program on the campus.

Let's first talk about our program. I envisaged this as the second major research agency within the orbit of the School of Business Administration. You may recall that we established the Bureau of Business and Economic Research in 1941, even before we had a school. That was, I think, the first move I made when I was appointed dean of the College of Commerce. This, from my point of view, would be the second major research unit, but it didn't turn out this way. Why? Because, as the discussions went on, we wanted to avoid this pro-labor or pro-employer label.

Directors and Reporting

Grether: It was felt better to have this report directly to the president. In fact, after the institute was established, I found in the files a letter from President Sproul to Dean Gordon Watkins, the dean of Letters and Science [at UCLA], saying that Paul Dodd, who was appointed director down there, will report to the president, and is not to be under the dean of Letters and Science.

The group in the south envisaged this as an adjunct of Economics; up here we envisaged it as an adjunct of the program in Business Administration. But I think what occurred is much better; the institute has been maintained as a separate institute.

Eventually, later on when Kerr became Chancellor, the institutes began reporting to the chancellors on the campus, and I think probably a bit to President Sproul's discomfort. Sproul found it very difficult to give up these agencies reporting to him. If you ever interview Clark Kerr, talk about this to him. But that's not our problem today.

The second, I think, important consideration here is that although Clark Kerr had been brought to the faculty a year before the institute was established, he became the first director. He did a magnificent job as director of this institute that brought him into prominence within the University statewide and regionwide, and I think undoubtedly laid the basis for his appointment as chancellor after seven years in the institute.

By the way, President Sproul operated with unbelievable dispatch in all of this. In a December meeting of the Regents in 1945, he recommended that Paul Dodd be made the director of the institute in Los Angeles, and Clark Kerr in Berkeley. This was very quick work. The result is that you can date the institute from 1945, because the directors were appointed.

I find in my file a letter from Malcolm Davisson, chairman of Economics, to the President, on behalf of himself as chairman of Economics and myself as dean of Business Administration, recommending Clark Kerr for appointment as director. So far as I can tell, there was no special committee appointed. I think the reason is that my letter of recommendation for Kerr as Associate Professor in 1944 had such complete documentation (and I'd like to put some of that into the record a little later) that this probably was used as a basis for going forward without another special committee. If there was a special committee, I have nothing in my files.

Nathan: Were there other contestants?

Grether: Well, we had made a national search. That is, I had, before Kerr was appointed, so we had all the names.

Down south the issue became a little clearer, because Dodd held it for only two years. Then he became dean of Letters and Science, replacing Gordon Watkins, who moved over to Riverside as the chancellor or provost (I've forgotten the title they use over there). Los Angeles had a panel of people. There were some very prominent names around the country, and Los Angeles finally recommended Lloyd Reynolds of Yale. We looked at all these people, and Lloyd declined it, so they finally came up with Edgar L. Warren, who had been head of the Federal Conciliation Service, as the director to succeed Paul Dodd down there.

I think a little later it would be a good idea for me to run through this original letter of recommendation, because it indicates the kinds of qualities the various referees found in Kerr that led us to believe he was by far the outstanding man, at only age 33, in this field.

Another important aspect of this is that Clark Kerr and Harry Wellman were brought into close working relationships in the University system. They were not unacquainted. Harry Wellman had been a member of Clark Kerr's Ph.D. committee, which was chaired by Professor Paul S. Taylor, so they knew each other from that point of view. Wellman became the chairman of the committee to coordinate the activities and plans of the two institutes, north and south. By the way, this is a role that Wellman has carried time and again in the University--a kind of chairmanship of these strategic committees. He also became the chairman of the first Faculty Advisory Committee.

This is important, because later on when Kerr became President, Wellman became his first executive vice president, so to speak, in the University system, indicating that they had a very good working relationship right from the start here.

Intentions and Techniques

Grether: But perhaps the most interesting of all was the establishment of an agency intended somehow to improve the techniques and procedures of collective bargaining, on the assumption that this would be a good idea, a good thing to do, and that in the process, somehow, one could avoid strikes and confrontations between labor and management and replace them with orderly, systematic bargaining relations. This is worth keeping in mind, because it's a problem still with us. Later on I may want to say something about my own views, but not in this context, because I had a much broader framework in national policy.

It relates to some things I do in the field of competition analysis. The issue is whether you can resolve these problems by improving the techniques. In this case, the improvement would come through an interdisciplinary approach. This is why it would have been okay to have it in

the School of Business because we are a catalytic agent for many disciplines. That's the essence of what we do.

But I think it was wise to have the institute report directly to the president, and more recently to the chancellor, so it avoided the pro-business label, more or less, but not entirely so, as we shall discover as we advance in the story of the history of the institute.

Nathan: A few minutes earlier you mentioned that among all of your wonderful files you still found one piece of paper missing. What could that be?

Grether: That was the report made by Paul Dodd on a national tour he made at the request of President Sproul in 1945 to all the other universities with programs in the field. Paul can't find it. I've been in touch with everybody, from the archivists to both institutes and so on, to the Board of Regents.

Paul said it was a 10- to 15-page report, and that Sproul had him present it to a meeting of the Board of Regents in Kerckhoff Hall in Los Angeles. But the Board of Regents' secretary has no record either. The report seems to have been lost.

It's very pivotal, because that report would have indicated the priority of projects already underway, and also the strong national interest. This was not really a local matter. Throughout the country there was a very strong feeling that this was a very important area in terms of postwar development which was true. That is, this was running rampant throughout the country, and it would have provided the basis for deciding what should be the particular stress at the University of California.

Coordinating North and South

Grether: That leads me to indicate that what happened here was that the Berkeley group made a report to the president, the UCLA group made a report to the president, and then finally Harry Wellman's coordinating committee came up with a recommendation which both groups accepted. The UCLA group, not surprisingly, recommended that they would be willing to

go along with this initial split between the two campuses, but that eventually probably all or most of the money should come to Los Angeles.

Nathan: Oddly enough.

Grether: Well, the reasoning was okay; the population growth and the greater problems were in the Los Angeles area. This still reflected the original desire to have a school on the Los Angeles campus. Paul Dodd, the other day when he was in, said he had counted the number of institutes in Berkeley. At that time the small brother was growing up and felt very sensitive; they felt it was their time to get something.

The stress, I think, in both reports was very similar in terms of the orientation of the institute. Both campuses felt there should be a strong community relations program at all levels--the citizen's level, the senior level leadership, junior levels, and so on. Actually, as things developed, Los Angeles had a stronger community relations program than Berkeley to begin with, and they therefore avoided a major issue that arose, which we will want to discuss later on. In fact, during that period it was typical of Los Angeles to be more effective at the community relations level.

Both reports were in terms of conferences, extension courses, and so on. Both reports stressed a campus program, but having dropped the idea of a school, it would be a matter of working with the existing agencies and departments to see to it that adequate course programs were available. For instance, at Berkeley there was a curriculum handbook that the institute prepared, indicating what's available in this field, so it acted as a coordinating agency.

Both talked about, of course, research, and had a heavy stress on research, but relatively this stress on research was greater in Berkeley than in Los Angeles. Both stressed the library as being important, and both talked about the importance of operating statewide and having some coordination.

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Grether: Both institutes were required to coordinate their activities. There was a coordinating committee, which I mentioned, the first one under Harry Wellman's chairmanship.

The initial report of that committee summed up the views of both Berkeley and Los Angeles. There is really nothing unique. There's mention of scholarships, and also some discussion of administration, including having local faculty committees and advisory committees, and some talk about staff.

The point I want to make is this. During this phase of the University development, there was a heavy stress in general on coordinating the activities of Berkeley and Los Angeles. As dean of the School of Business, I was required to coordinate with the dean down there, Jacoby. All of our plans went forward as joint plans. That is, we had our local discussions, and then we would try to coordinate. They went through the local educational policy committees, to the statewide educational policy committees, to the Regents' Educational Policy Committee as a joint plan.

Nathan: Was that cumbersome?

Grether: Yes, of course it was, but I think probably highly desirable. Something has been lost, I think. As the years have gone by and the University has gotten bigger, there is less and less of this. But I should make it clear that this didn't mean we had to agree and had to do the same thing. There was flexibility for variations in stress, but we were to keep each other informed as well as the central administration. In increasing decentralization of the University system, this type of direct planning coordination has tended to disappear.

My judgment is, from what I've seen of the present president of the University, that he's trying to bring back again a bit of this statewide coordination and planning, which has tended to disappear.

Nathan: You feel there are values in this?

Grether: Yes, but you can overdo it. There is a problem here of local autonomy. At one time Berkeley had a tremendous urge to break out of the system, feeling that Berkeley, the leading campus, was being injured by being forced to coordinate with and relate to the other campuses. There was a big drive for autonomy on the Berkeley campus. That's a long story. I had a key role in this when I became chairman of the Statewide Assembly. About that time Berkeley was

almost in rebellion against the Statewide Assembly and Council. Have we put any of this on the record?

Nathan: There is a small amount, yes.

Grether: This is part of what I'm talking about here, in a sense.

Wellman had an initial coordinating committee that was composed of the leaders, both north and south. What they put together merely summed up the pretty well accepted views of both campuses.

Recommendations and Nominations for Clark Kerr (1944-1945)

Grether: I think, if you don't mind, the next thing we might do is talk about the nomination of Clark Kerr to our faculty, and for the directorship of the institute, in this context.

Nathan: Good.

Grether: Now, I recommended Clark Kerr's appointment to our faculty as Associate Professor of Industrial Relations on November 1, 1944. I have before me this report. It's an 18-page report, very carefully annotated and very carefully documented. It is exceedingly interesting to look at what I said then, what the referees we used said about Clark Kerr, in relation to his record at the institute and later on as chancellor and president.

Do you think this is a good idea?

Nathan: Yes, very good.

Grether: My report as chairman can be summed up in the following two sentences in the middle of it: "He has a very unusual combination of sound scholarship, effectiveness in teaching and in research, and ability to command the confidence, respect, and support of both sides in a difficult field. There is a strong likelihood, too, that he has administrative ability of a high order." That, I think, sums up pretty well the basis for our recommendation.

More interesting, though, are the comments of the people to whom we had sent inquiries, professors at other

institutions and people in government, people out in industry. For example, Professor Haley, Chairman of the Economics Department at Stanford, wrote, "During his year at Stanford I was impressed by his ability to retain the respect of both employer and labor groups." Now, Clark was down there merely for his master's degree. At the time I was recommending him, he was only 33 years old. So at a very young age he showed this capacity.

Here is a letter from William S. Hopkins, who was in the department down there [Stanford], teaching the same field. He says, "He displayed ability, both as an economist and as an administrator."

Here is an interesting story I just tumbled onto this morning, walking into the building with Maurice Moonitz. Moonitz was down there at the time, at Stanford. He said that Stanford kept Hopkins on the faculty in this field instead of Clark Kerr (but Clark Kerr had transferred here for his doctorate, so he didn't stay there), and later on, after Clark left Washington to come down here, Hopkins was brought to Washington to replace him.

Nathan: How interesting.

Grether: Very interesting series of developments. Apparently, in terms of their internal developments, they misjudged the situation just a bit, although I'm not sure Clark would have been available to them at this time.

Here is a letter from Professor James K. Hall, of the University of Washington: "He has the full respect of both employer and labor groups for courage and cool objectivity. Clark has demonstrated that he cannot be pushed around." I'm just picking a few key sentences from these reports.

Here's one from Vernon A. Mund, a professor also in Economics and Business, University of Washington, Seattle: "In his War Labor Board work, Clark commands the highest respect of both the employer and labor groups. Indeed, it may be said that it is Clark's judgment and common sense which guide the operation of the Twelfth Regional Board." He was a member of that board up there. (By the way, Paul Dodd today took credit for bringing Clark back to the Bay Area first, because he brought him back here as Wage Stabilization director for the Tenth Board, before he was

director here.) Mund also says, "Clark is one of the very best teachers in the University."

Here's Gordon S. Watkins, who is also in the labor field, but who was then dean of the College of Letters and Science at UCLA: "I know of no young man who has greater promise of unusual success in this field."

Here's from Paul Dodd himself, a very lengthy letter, and it's a very interesting letter. For example, "His judgment I consider to be extremely sound. He is unfalteringly honest intellectually, and in my opinion contributed very much to the stability and soundness of the work of the Twelfth Regional Board in the Northwest."

But here are two paragraphs that I think are very, very interesting. "The major weakness in Dr. Kerr, as I see it, is his extreme frankness and his unalterable commitment to principles and standards as he sees them, a quality which is a great virtue if properly tempered, but one which at times forces Dr. Kerr to appear to some to be rather hard-headed and arbitrary. I mention this trait, which again, let me emphasize, I consider to be virtuous in a scholar if properly balanced, but which, as you will appreciate, demands real greatness at times to overcome, knowing that you will understand the spirit in which I refer to this apparent weakness."

Nathan: How perceptive.

Grether: Very perceptive. Another sentence: "I believe that his experience with the National War Labor Board has demonstrated his ability to command the respect of both employer and labor groups." There are other academic statements, which I will omit.

Here's one from Thomas Fair Neblett, chairman of the National War Labor Board, Tenth Region, San Francisco: "On the basis of his excellent performance at this task (that is, as Wage Stabilization director), I can recommend Dr. Kerr to you without reservation. He demonstrated unusual capacities as an administrator. Under terrific crossfire and pressures, as you well know exist from your experiences as panel chairman (I was also working in that area), he maintained throughout the highest degree of integrity, common sense, and balance. He dealt daily with representatives of industry and labor in connection with

their problems of industrial relations and personnel. He intimately associated with industry and labor members in the work of the tripartite Tenth Regional Board. He maintained their mutual respect continuously, and it was an expression of the high regard of industry and labor that he was selected as vice chairman of the Twelfth Regional Labor Board when it was set up to serve Washington and Oregon when that area was separated from the jurisdiction of the Tenth Board."

Here's Dean Ballard, manager of the Distributor's Association of Seattle and an industrial member of the War Labor Board in Seattle: "I have known Dr. Kerr for about the past five years, both as a university professor and as vice chairman of the Twelfth Regional War Labor Board. To my way of thinking, he is by far the most effective and incisive member of the Regional War Labor Board. In counter-distinction to many college professors, he is tough-minded to a degree. In other words, in trying any case before him, he needed to be amply fortified with all pertinent factual data necessary to prove your points."

Then the last sentence [of Dean Ballard]: "In appearance Dr. Kerr seems slightly diffident, but don't be taken in by that. He has a mind like a bear trap."
[laughter]

Nathan: Wonderful.

Grether: This is amazing. Looking back, he was only 33, and a relatively young man, at least from my point of view.

Now, a long letter from Robert C. Line, director of Wage Stabilization, the board in Seattle, and who also for years was dean of the School of Business over at Montana. I knew Bob Line very well. Some aspects of his comments are very perceptive. "Dr. Kerr has very firm convictions and stands by them. He can make up his mind quickly, and has his arguments well in hand to use in presenting his cause. He is no compromiser. I have seldom seen a person who will fight so hard for a cause when he is convinced that he is right, and when the cause is important and worthy."

May I interject something? I was talking to Clark recently, and he mentioned how he was at a meeting of the Regents during the [loyalty] oath period, and Regent Neylan was about to make his motion for dismissal of some faculty.

Clark said he arose in that meeting and said, "Regent Neylan, no fair-minded person could possibly agree with you," and the motion was not put before the Regents that time. It came up the next time. This indicates the same quality. That time he was not chancellor; he was director, but he was also a member of the Privilege and Tenure Committee.

[continues reading letter of Robert C. Line] "Dr. Kerr is a genius in thinking out methods and means of tackling a problem. I have seen him in many conferences. When a group of intelligent men were unable to think out a solution to a difficult problem, it was Kerr who would come up with a solution."

This may not be the point, but I observed him as chancellor because I sat on his Administrative Advisory Committee. He apparently has this ability to sit there, make little notes on the discussion, and then finally to sum it up, or, if it isn't ready to sum up, to assign someone to go to work on it to make a report. This is probably why he became a leading labor negotiator, and mediator and arbitrator in the United States, because of this ability to somehow get the pertinent facts and put them in their proper framework.

[resumes reading] "As you know, Clark Kerr is a very hard worker." Oh, boy, we know that, I should add, from my experience. [laughter] "He keeps his desk perfectly clean, which means he is on top of his job at all times." I'm not sure that applies to me [laughter]

Nathan: There are always exceptions, for both of us, I hope.

Grether: I hope so. "He turns out a prodigious amount of work on this board. This is only possible because he works rapidly, accurately, and chooses the most important things to do first."

Here's Frank Foisie, who was president of the Waterfront Employers' Associations in the Pacific Coast Office, San Francisco. I remember Frank very well. "Kerr stands well with both labor and industry members on the Twelfth Regional War Labor Board in Seattle, where he serves as the vice chairman of the board in the capacity of a public member. He is highly thought of by the staff of the board." I put

that in really because it reiterates this ability of both sides to respect his ability and also his judgment.

Here's Frank J. Middleton, President of the Waterfront Employers of Washington, Seattle. "As a public member of the War Labor Board, he has impressed me as striving at all times to carry out the spirit as well as the letter of the rules and regulations under which the board operates, and in doing so to be fair to both labor and industry."

In some ways the most interesting of all was an unsolicited letter which I received from Dave Beck. I had not written to him, but he heard about inquiries from a business associate and took it upon himself to write me a long letter, dated October 24, 1944. I'll read just a bit from it: "In discussing the subject matter of professors at the University of Washington with business and professional leaders in Seattle, I have found universal recognition of the qualities possessed by Dr. Kerr. I recall talking with Dean Morse and others associated with the National War Labor Board in Washington, D.C., and their complete endorsement of Professor Kerr's ability. I am certain that the business, social, and economic life of Seattle recognizes Professor Kerr as the outstanding member of the Regional Labor Board."

Rather interesting, putting it in terms of business, social, and economic life.

Nathan: Yes. Beck wasn't already in trouble with the law?

Grether: Not then, no. I talked to Clark about this. He [Beck] would appear in Clark's classes. They had close working relationships, and so they got very well acquainted.

[continues reading Beck's letter]

Of course, I have not agreed with him entirely in his analysis of the problems of labor, and have in instances disagreed with him on his decisions where labor's interests were involved. I emphasize, however, that in disagreeing with him, and still recognizing his tremendous ability, his fairness and his thorough understanding, only adds to his stature. It is oftentimes very easy to recommend those that always agree with you, but it is more important

that you can disagree with us and still retain our respect and admiration.

Clark didn't know about this. I called him up the other day and said I'd found this in my file, so he talked a bit about this. He said that the first case that came before him from the Teamsters from Dave Beck, he ruled against them. Dave Beck's group criticized him very strongly, and he said, "You said this guy was impartial. Why? I thought he was impartial on our side." [laughter]

[continues reading from Beck's letter] "In my opinion, any university with whom he is associated will profit by his being a member of their staff."

Nathan: That's really remarkable, isn't it?

Grether: Well, it's interesting. I think this ought to be on the record, because it indicates how people in various walks of life, under very troubled conditions, viewed him at age 33. So from this standpoint, at least, it was no fluke when he moved up and became eventually chancellor and president.

The more important thing, of course, is that he did such a tremendous job as director of the institute. I don't know whether it's necessary to really put this into the record. Here is the so-called progress report of the Institute of Industrial Relations, 1945-1952, which was written under the aegis of Edgar L. Warren, the director down south, and myself, because I had just been made director, a post which I held for a couple of years. It sums up these seven years of the work, both north and south.

Institutes as Interdisciplinary Agencies (1945-1952)

Grether: Now, I mention this because if it seemed desirable, from the standpoint of completeness, it would be very easy to sum up.

Nathan: It would round out the picture in a useful way.

Grether: What this report does is to describe the organization and functions of the institutes in terms that we have discussed already--that is, in terms of research.

Nathan: How did faculty members relate to the institute? Were they part-time with the institute and part-time with their departments?

Grether: For years, insofar as funds were available, they were given one-third reduced teaching time for their research and other activities.

Nathan: Were they invited by the institute to participate?

Grether: Yes. Also, during the initial period there were more from this department than from other departments. This went on for a number of years. But there were always people from social welfare, sociology, political science, psychology--Mason Haire, for example--and from any other departments where people had a teaching or research interest.

I'd like to put it this way. This probably was the most successful interdisciplinary agency on the campus, and still continues on that basis. I'm using the word interdisciplinary, not multidisciplinary, because there's a problem here. Probably one reason it's been successful and continuous is that for the most part the people who came in from their various disciplines were allowed to pursue their interests in terms of their basic disciplines. They did not become involved, for the most part, in efforts trying to merge the disciplines and produce a synthesis.

We did have on the campus for a brief period a so-called Learning Center in the Social Sciences. This was a separate center where it was hoped that by taking young people from various disciplines they might come up with something creatively different.

My observation, after all those years of experience in this area is that you can't hothouse this. The sort of thing that's been going on in the institute is healthy. The people aren't forced to try to develop a new synthesis, but they work together on special projects, and something emerges that's important. But this grand new framework has not appeared.

Maybe what's going on in your group is different. Maybe you people have been able to force something; I don't know.

Nathan: No, it sounds much more like your original notion of interdisciplinary skills applied to problems in a certain way. Then you learn from each other in an almost informal way.

Grether: That's right. This seems to me to be quite sound and quite reasonable; but the other, apparently, is too artificial, to try to hothouse something that's somewhat different and synthetic.

By the way, I was very delighted to see Herb Simon win the Nobel Prize in Economics.

Nathan: Wasn't that exciting?

Grether: It must have been especially exciting for you people. But I noticed that there was no mention of the fact that he was in the Berkeley group.

Nathan: No, that seems to have dropped out. He was one of "Sam May's boys."

Grether: The department never really understood him, I don't think. I got this from Chuck Aiken. Chuck Aiken had a seminar every Sunday morning. Simon was such a genius in so many different fields. For instance, in mathematical analysis, his work in psychology; he could have been head of three or four different departments. He really is a true integrated social scientist in one person. That's probably the preferred route for people who have this kind of breadth.

Now, it may be worth putting into the record again that when I was chairman and Clark Kerr was chancellor, we kept an offer before Herb Simon. Clark said that if he could ever bring Simon to the campus--so the offer was always waiting, but he was never willing.

I visited Simon's classes one time. Has this been in the record?

Nathan: No, I don't think we have that.

Grether: I'd been at Harvard, watching the case method--

Nathan: Oh, this was your description of the case method discussion?

Grether: Yes, so I won't repeat that now. It was very interesting that he was standing above the case, looking down at it, searching for principle; and the Harvard people kept the students inside the case and gave them vicarious business experience. There were two different approaches from an educational standpoint, and both have relevance to what we are talking about; what is the preferred way of giving people some kind of skills?

Where were we when I interrupted?

Nathan: The way the interdisciplinary system was working at the Institute of Industrial Relations, and your seven-year summary.

Grether: Well, this report is in terms of the statewide program. There were conferences and lecture series and institutes that were statewide in nature. Many very prominent lecturers were brought to the state, where they would appear both at the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses. They are all listed here. It's amazing who was here.

For instance, I remember chairing a meeting when Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, was the speaker. In fact, almost any important name in the labor, government, or business field was brought to the campus during this seven years.

Nathan: Were they made available to students?

Grether: Oh, yes. For instance, the meeting I chaired was in Wheeler Auditorium, a packed meeting. The Donald Richberg meeting was so big they had to put it in the gymnasium.

Clark was a genius, from my point of view. He had a man, Ronald Houghton, working with him in this area of public relations. Between them they succeeded in bringing almost all the national leaders to this area, and often also to the Los Angeles campus, working together with Edgar Warren.

Here's the Northern Division program. It had a research program, which is described here broken down in various fields. This, of course, from the standpoint of the faculty, is the more important part of the program. The library. There was advice on the curriculum. Then there

was a community relations program. This, you will recall, is what the governor [Warren] had in mind, and this is the part of the program that is most difficult to operate, especially because of the high sensitivity of organized labor. When we get into the discussion of the period when Arthur Ross was director, this will come to a head, because he had enormous difficulties with organized labor in this area.

Now, the Southern Division had a similar type of program. Both gave a certificate. They had a certificate program for people who could take a series of courses in extension and get a certificate.

Nathan: These would be for people who were already in--

Grether: Yes, for people who wanted to have something like a CPA in accounting. I doubt whether this was really very important.

Well, the net result of these seven years of Kerr's work with his associates was that these institutes became, I think, the leading programs of their kind in the world.

[Interview 19: October 27, 1978]##

Nathan: Perhaps we can get into some of the events and people around the Institute of Industrial Relations.

Grether: I'd like to repeat the date of my discussion with Earl Warren at the meeting of the California Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission. It was August 16, 1945. I was speaking from memory last time; this will insure that the record is accurate.

Also, I have some other information from Paul Dodd with respect to where Governor Warren obtained his idea. This seems to be entirely accurate, because in 1970 the institutes had a 25th anniversary celebration at UCLA, and Governor Warren was the featured speaker. In his statement, he says as follows: "I remember well the original letter that Dr. Dodd sent to the president suggesting an institute of this kind, and if you remember your history, you will realize that that was something new in the life of industrial relations. I immediately seized on the idea, because it seemed so sensible to me, so basic in American life."

What happened then was that Paul Dodd's letter of January 1944 was forwarded by President Sproul to the governor, and this, he says, is the basis for his initial interest in this area.

We were talking about Clark Kerr's appointment and what happened in the institute during the period of his directorship. I mentioned this progress report of the Institute of Industrial Relations, 1945-1952. That covers that period beautifully, and it was intended to, because Clark Kerr was moving into the chancellorship. This covers the period of his directorship, as well as the development down south. Much of this was written by Arthur Ross, who was one of the faculty members in the institute.

I had just been made director of the institute, succeeding Clark Kerr, before this report was published, so it was signed by Edgar L. Warren, director at Los Angeles, and E. T. Grether, director in Berkeley.

Since there is so much in the record, I doubt whether at this point it would be worthwhile to go into detail. I'm more concerned myself (and you can change the signals if you wish, Harriet) to use this as a means of putting Clark Kerr into perspective, because from here he became chancellor, president, and so on; he became a powerful force in the development of the University.

Kerr as Administrator

Grether: So far as I can tell, from my very good observation base, the kind of qualities that were suggested by the people in my original letter of recommendation, which I put into the record last time, showed very clearly during this period of Clark Kerr's initial administrative responsibilities in the University. For example, he consulted, and this was always true of Clark Kerr. He had a strong political sense--

Nathan: When you say he consulted, do you mean with people within the University?

Grether: With any persons important. For example, if there were advisory committees, he convened them. As we advance we'll

discover that this got to be a problem later on. He had associates around him who would think together and work together.

He consulted outside. Here was an area where the outside consultations were very basic because of the strong labor and management interests in this whole problem. This was very basic. Also, he put people to work. I saw this clearly later on when he came to be chancellor. He didn't merely convene his advisory committee and talk to them; he threw problems at them, maybe set up subcommittees. In other words, they became part of the thinking process. I think this was very typical of Clark's action.

As I mentioned earlier, he has a very strong political sense, and this was of the essence, almost, for his later responsibilities. But it showed itself here because he was able, during this initial period, to keep labor and management in relation to each other without any major conflicts. He was almost an artist in handling the labor people. Perhaps I should say he was an artist.

Labor is always sensitive. You may recall that when we discussed the California Employment Conference, labor almost walked out of that conference. Why? Because they felt they were not getting enough committee assignments; they were not getting enough attention. Labor tends to be sensitive, always. Clark was aware of this, and he handled these matters very nicely. One could go on, but I think some of these things will appear as we follow Clark Kerr along, as I know we want to do, throughout the period of his chancellorship and the presidency.

If you look at this record, you'll see such a variety of approaches, inside and outside the University. I'll get to the research aspect directly, because that is always basic. Insofar as faculty are involved, this is the number one interest, and the institute developed a very powerful research program. As we advance, you'll discover that something came almost to be called the "California School" because of a certain emphasis or stress in the California program.

Community Relations and Broadening Acquaintance

Grether: There were very strong community relations programs of various types. There was some effort to bring labor and management together in joint meetings. For the most part this has not been too successful. They tend to have separate meetings, although there are occasional things.

One thing that interested me very much was the ability to bring to Berkeley, and also to Los Angeles, leaders in industry, government, and labor for lectures or for participation in workshops or conferences. As I mentioned, Clark had associated with him a young man named Ronald Houghton, who worked with him in what you may call the public relations aspect. He was an enormous asset in helping Clark and the institute to become acquainted, not only locally but nationally.

Clark did work very hard at getting acquainted locally. He had a good base to begin with, but he went out of his way, especially to become acquainted with the people in the labor field. One consequence, of course, was that things went along relatively smoothly. There were no major conflicts, and this must have been very pleasing to the governor, who was hoping for this type of outcome.

I'd like to just put into the record one example of these public lectures. I was amazed to see the kinds of people who were brought to Berkeley from all parts of the United States to appear in this lecture series. And a curious thing, Clark hardly ever would preside at these meetings. They would be meetings in Wheeler Auditorium, even--in the case of Donald Richberg, as I think I mentioned last time--in the gymnasium because there were so many people involved.

Public Lecture by the President of General Motors

Grether: For example, I was chairman of a meeting for Charles E. Wilson, the president of General Motors. The thing was so interesting, it might be worth recording. Beforehand there was a dinner meeting at Kerr's. I recall taking some pleasure in driving my Ford car ahead of a cavalcade of

General Motors people coming to this dinner. [laughter] During the dinner I was sitting beside Mrs. Wilson, and I said, "I have a problem."

I said, "Two of the major corporations in the United States whose names begin with 'general' have presidents with identical names, Charles E. Wilson--Charles E. Wilson of General Electric, and Charles E. Wilson of General Motors." One of those curious things that can happen. I said, "This is confusing, especially because some of the labor people are at the moment a little restive about Boulwarism and other things going on in General Electric. I want to be sure that the audience tonight doesn't confuse your husband with the Charles E. Wilson of General Electric."

I said, "How do you do this?" She said, "Oh, it's very simple. I call my husband, the GM president, "Good Morning Charlie'. I call the other one, the GE president, "Good Evening Charlie'." [laughter] I said, "May I use this?" She said yes, so I did, and the audience appreciated that, and I suspect some of them will still recall this way of differentiating between these two men.

Nathan: Yes. May I ask you what Boulwarism is?

Grether: Well, at that time GE had an executive of this name who took a rather firm position in the labor field. I've forgotten at the moment just what some of his views were, but they were very prominent at this time.

It was very impressive that evening, to me, to notice that Charles Wilson of GM had written his own paper. It was not a public relations paper. It was a good paper, but because he'd written it himself, a little too long.

Afterwards there was a very active discussion period. We had the policy of asking people to write out their questions, and then runners would bring them up to me as chairman, and I would sift them and ask him; without any warning he was asked these questions. I would like to be able to find that sheaf of questions--I think they may be in the archive or someplace--because a lot of questions came up. I had the problem of which question I should ask.

There was one question that, as it came up, I kept putting back. Finally I said, "Oh, well, he's doing so well, I'll ask him this one." The question went something

as follows: "Do you know that men are being destroyed out on that assembly line in your San Leandro plant?" It went on along this vein. "Have you ever visited this plant and seen what goes on there?"

His reply was, "No, I have not visited the San Leandro plant. But I recently visited one very similar to it, and I asked the superintendent, 'How many men work here?' His reply was 'About half of them'." [laughter] This seemed to take care of it. He got out of that one. He handled himself very well. This was the man, you recall, who, when he became Secretary of Defense, was always getting his foot in his mouth.

Nathan: Yes, I do.

Grether: I liked him. He was frank and open; he was genuine.

He told one story, if you don't mind putting this sort of thing in the record to lighten the record a bit, about a friend of his, a petroleum company president who had the habit of visiting his company's service stations incognito. When the car was being serviced he would wander around and talk to the employees and ask them how they liked their work and the company. Then he could go back to the board of directors and tell them how the morale was in the lower levels of the company employment. He always found morale very high, which was very cheering to him. But one day out on the highway his car went dead and he had to open the hood himself, and he found a typewritten notice, "Be careful what you tell the son-of-a-bitch; he's president of the company." [laughter]

Nathan: So much for fieldwork.

Grether: That's right.

Well, there were many lectures of this sort. Rather extraordinary, I think. It made a very good impact. Labor and management could meet at these public lectures, and they often did, as well as in occasional seminars. But on the whole you had the same thing here as you had in trying to somehow hothouse the integration of social sciences. For the most part the two groups had to be served separately, with separate programs. It was just like bringing people from various disciplines into research projects, but each

would do his own thing, and nothing new or synthetic tended to arise out of this.

Nathan: May I ask a word about funding of the institute? There would no doubt be some budget funds from the University, but wasn't the practice also to get contracts and grants from outside?

Grether: Yes. The University appropriation, of course from the state, provided a basic amount. You remember that original amount was \$100,000, to be divided north and south, but the institute has been very fortunate over the years in getting other funding, like from the Ford Foundation. For example, as we get into the Art Ross period, I think that grant for studying the field of unemployment was \$400,000. It has been very successful along these lines.

Now, I found in my files something that I had forgotten completely, but I'm glad I found it, because to me it was so revealing. You may recall we noted earlier that I went to Washington, D.C., in the early summer of 1948, on loan from the University. I mention the words "on loan" because I was still dean. I was in charge of economic mobilization planning in the Truman administration. I think we put some material from that experience into the record.

Advice to Kerr re: Resigning from IIR (1948)

Grether: Well, from Washington, D.C., on August 11, I wrote to Clark Kerr. I'm going to read this, if you don't mind. We can always take it out if you think it's too lengthy.

Nathan: Let's hear it.

Grether: Dear Clark:

I was greatly surprised to receive your recent note concerning your desire to resign from the directorship of the institute.

Now, this was 1948, so this was only his third year as director.

You appreciate my view, since we have often talked about this; namely, that I should greatly prefer to see you continue as director. Although I appreciate the difficulties of the directorship, as I see it the position is highly preferable to the usual deanship on the campus, since one is engaged in research and in directing research, and you have greater freedom in a number of directions than on the usual administrative post at the University.

I appreciate, of course, that the professorship without the administrative duties in many ways is preferable. You and I have often talked about this, since I have the same problem. I have felt it highly important, however, to stay with the post until I felt that things were under control. I have done this at considerable financial sacrifice to myself, and have taken my satisfaction in terms of the progress made in the school, department, and so forth.

My hope, therefore, is that you do not resign on the spur of the moment, just at the beginning of the academic year. It seems to me that the president ought to have notice at least six months or a year in advance that you wish to drop out.

Then I'll skip some here--

It seems to me that you ought to think seriously about these possible consequences before you make a decision as drastic as the one you propose.

That is, the consequences to the institute and the University.

The decision should consider not merely your own interests, but those of the institute at Berkeley and of the University. We have all taken a great deal of pride in the

accomplishments at Berkeley. I would feel a great sense of loss if it were necessary to sacrifice the leadership on the Berkeley campus.

Furthermore, resignation without adequate notice to the president I think would be harmful, not only to the University but psychologically and otherwise to yourself. The only reason that I can see for resigning at this late date without warning would be medical advice.

That's a pretty strong letter.

Nathan: Yes, it was very straight.

Grether: This has very interesting aspects that don't meet the eye. Later on, when he became chancellor and president, I approached him a number of times. I wanted to drop out of my deanship and get back to my research and teaching, and so have more time.

Nathan: Did he ever respond to this letter?

Grether: He didn't resign. I don't find a written response.

Later on this was my problem, and he'd always say, "Oh, not now Grether," and he'd give good reasons, just like I was giving him reasons. This went on--well, I'd taken the deanship for three years to begin with, and it went on for twenty years. Finally I went to Clark, and I said, "Now I have five years left before I reach mandatory retirement; I want those five years back in my classroom and in my research, full scale." I had to put it that way. I'd hardly made that decision when I was asked to be vice chairman and then chairman of the Statewide Assembly, which deferred me a bit.

As you look back upon that, it put me in a position to observe the final period of Clark Kerr as president. I was there at the beginning, I was there at the end; because I was attending Regents' meetings at both periods and was involved in both the campus and the statewide political action.

But as you think about this, suppose Clark had dropped out? He obviously would not have been chancellor, I don't

think, because it was the full record that he made; he was only part way along at that time, and that brought him into the prominence and developed the quality that led to his appointment as chancellor, and from there on as president. So I take some pride in this.

Administrator and Researcher

Grether: By the way, we called our son, who is a professor at Cal Tech, last Saturday--it was his 40th birthday--and we found him worrying about the same problem. This morning's paper you mentioned pointed out the new chancellor at Santa Cruz. Well, Santa Cruz and Santa Barbara have taken two of the top people from Cal Tech, and one was the head of the unit to which our son adheres. Dave was complaining strongly that he has been named executive officer of the social sciences at Cal Tech, and it will take him away from his research, so he was lamenting. So this is something very basic if you are a scholar with strong research interests.

Another thing I think is worth noting here. This ran through Clark's entire career as chancellor and president. He always had research going, sometimes major research, even around the world; and had research assistants. He never gave up his research. Now, at the end, he's been head of this research agency under the Carnegie Foundation, and back into it as director as well as a participant in research.

Nathan: I take it this is relatively unusual for someone with heavy administrative responsibilities to be able to do much research?

Grether: It is. It's true also at my level. I think I am considered to be a bit unusual--or was considered to be a bit unusual--as a dean, because I kept on teaching and doing research. That tends to be the California pattern, rightly or wrongly, to have scholar-administrators. They tend, therefore, to be short-term, rather than go on for twenty years. Or, to take Milton Chernin, I guess thirty-some years in his case, in the field of social welfare.

Mythology and Leadership

Grether: There's another aspect of this that, if I may digress just a minute, reflects something very important to me, and perhaps to people like Clark Kerr. I have never stood in awe of so-called great men--the presidents and so on. I think inherently I tend to be a bit of a Jacksonian democrat. My belief, strongly, is that the gap between the so-called top leader and the rank and file is not nearly as great as we tend to think. Maybe this is partly because of our experience in Germany in 1933. It was a horrifying experience to see the Germans become mystically hysterical about Hitler, Der Führer. I still almost shudder when I hear people talking about our leaders.

This, by the way, perhaps explains why I like the market system; because it destroys all of that. The market is an impersonal force, and it tends to replace the leaders, so-called.

What you did in the case of kings, etc., was take ordinary people and put them on thrones and put crowns on their heads and scepters in their hands, and in that way built them up so that people thought they were somehow different, when they really weren't very much different. Often they were very inferior people.

Nathan: Yes, I think history would bear you out.

Grether: This is my approach here. I much prefer the Berkeley-California system, where the faculty as a whole interacts to make decisions, rather than bowing to a president or chancellor in the decision-making process and accepting what comes down from the top. It should arise in democratic processes.

Well, that's by way of digression, but it explains a lot as we go ahead here. In fact, it almost helps explain the next move.

When Clark Kerr was made chancellor, a problem arose as to who would succeed him as director of the institute. Strange as it might seem, it turned out to be E. T. Grether. [laughter]

Nathan: Not quite so strange, but tell us how.

Lloyd Fisher and "The California School"

Grether: The reason is a bit complicated. There were three leaders in the early institute--Clark Kerr, Lloyd Fisher, and Arthur Ross. They were the inside group. As I look at the record, Clark Kerr and Lloyd Fisher were the more active, but Art Ross was very important. Later on he became chairman of the Emergency Executive Committee of the Academic Senate during the troubled period. Art Ross also had strong political sense and was a very charming fellow. There was a very sharp difference in attitude and approach as between Lloyd Fisher and Art Ross. At least, that's the way I look at it.

Lloyd Fisher was one of those very unusual types of individuals, very rare, at least in the academic field. He was not tied to a discipline, although he was closeted in political science. He was not tied to subject matter; he was tied to individuals. He read books of individuals he found stimulating, regardless of discipline, whether it was in philosophy or political science or economics or whatnot. He was a kind of semi-genius type.

Also, as I saw him, he was one of those people who learned a lot from talking with others. He would spend hours drinking coffee. The coffee hour was really made for people like Lloyd Fisher, in interacting. Clark Kerr finds this abhorrent, and so do I. I never take a coffee break, because I have things I want to do. But Lloyd did, and he therefore, in a sense, was the eyes and ears of the group, because he was interacting very broadly among people.

Also, he came out of the organized labor field. He'd been director of research of the Longshoremen's Union.

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Grether: Continuing our discussion about Lloyd Fisher, I know of only one other person like him, a man named Wroe Alderson, who was on the Wharton School faculty, Pennsylvania. He and I became close friends. We were together as trustees of the Marketing Science Institute when it was first established. Alderson since has deceased. He was a similar type of person. He had enormous impact on the field of marketing, because he would tend to jump out and get excitement in so many different directions. Fisher was somewhat like this.

Now, in the discussions between these three [Clark Kerr, Arthur Ross, Lloyd Fisher] and other faculty members, there arose what came to be called, in quotes, "The California School." This is discussed in pages 13-18 of a recent book of Clark Kerr's essays, published by the institute. It's called Labor Markets and Wage Determination, the Balkanization of Labor Markets and Other Essays, 1977 publication.

Nathan: The institute is the publisher?

Grether: Well, it's published by the University of California Press, but for the institute.

Nathan: Very handsome.

Grether: It's handsome, and I'm delighted to have it. In fact, I see Clark said, "To Greth, who helped make all of this and much else possible." I like that.

Nathan: That's very nice.

Grether: So I guess he forgave me for writing that letter to him.

In essence, the Berkeley group combined politics and economics, as well as other insights in the social sciences. The leading model up to that time was one developed by John Dunlap (who sat in my seminar one time), which used an economic monopoly model. He interpreted labor unions as monopolists selling labor.

Clark Kerr, as I get it, interpreted the unions as wage-fixing institutions in the private sector, and then the individuals sold their labor at the wages fixed. Lloyd tended to look at the whole thing as a political process, and was interested in how it operated within the union. Art took this and put it together, and wrote an essay that became very famous.

There was always a little problem as to whose ideas these were. I won't go into that, but there was a bit of feeling sometimes when things went into print as to whether proper credits were given for the kind of group thinking that was going on.

Succession to the Directorship: Grether to Ross (1954)

Grether: I called Clark again to refresh my mind on this. Lloyd Fisher would not have made a director at all; he was not the administrative type. In addition, he had come out of the Longshoremen's Union, and some people would have dubbed him as communist. Clark said this is absolutely wrong, but anyway he would not have been acceptable to employers and to some people in the labor field. In addition, it's just the kind of person he was.

Nathan: This was in the '50s, wasn't it?

Grether: This was in 1952, when Clark was made chancellor. The problem was succession. As of that time, with Lloyd there, making Art Ross chairman would have been very difficult. In addition, Clark had other doubts, and as we get into the record some of these doubts apparently were quite justified.

So I was asked to take the directorship of the institute. The idea was that Lloyd would be the associate director, which he was, and that he would do the detail work. This was not my field, you see. Though I'd been involved in it, I was doing other things where I was a scholar, I hope, and this was not an area of specialization for me.

Then the most unfortunate thing that one could possibly imagine happened after I assumed this responsibility. Lloyd Fisher, it turned out, had Hodgkins Disease. He died on February 2, 1953, during our first year.

I would like to indicate what my other responsibilities were at the time, just to show why, when this calamity struck, it left me in a very difficult position. I was dean of the School of Business Administration, chairman of the Department of Business Administration. Those were my basic fields. I was teaching a seminar. I was trying to keep up with research, just like everybody else, to some extent. I also was vice chairman of the Academic Senate, Northern Section, for a three-year period, 1952-1955. I took this in part because I knew it would be helpful under Clark coming in as chancellor. I was member and secretary of the San Francisco World Trade Center Authority, under appointment of Governor Warren. I was chairman of the Governor's Study Commission on the Unemployment Insurance Act, under

appointment of Governor Warren. All of these jobs, by the way, without compensation.

I was chairman of the Industrial Plant Location Committee, later called the Industrial Development Committee of the California state Chamber of Commerce. I was a member of the Attorney General's National Committee to Study the Antitrust Laws. And then I had an invitation to go to Sweden on a goodwill educational mission in the spring of 1953. (I think we discussed this sometime past.)

Well, this was my situation. From my point of view, this was utterly intolerable, because to do the job properly without Lloyd there would have meant a major detour. It had to change, so after two years the new director was appointed, and that turned out to be Arthur Ross. I had nothing to do with that; I was not on that committee.

Here is where things become a little more complicated. Arthur Ross was director for nine years. During this period the institute did exceedingly well in the research area. I know all of this because when the problems developed, a very powerful committee was set up to appraise the institute, even to decide whether it should continue, and to appraise Art Ross as director. I was chairman of that committee.

Nathan: Was Margaret Gordon involved?

Grether: She was on the staff then. She was, I think, working as an associate director with Art during this period. She has been a very powerful force in the institute and in relationship to Clark Kerr, because she's still working in this capacity with him in the Carnegie Commission.

Organized Labor's Criticism of the Institute (1962)

Grether: Now, I have the entire report before me. I mention this because it's much too lengthy to put into the record, and I'll try to interpret it.

What happened was that organized labor became very restive during this period. Ross and the people with him did not succeed in getting the proper set of relationships there. The California Federation of Labor, at a statewide

meeting in 1962, passed a resolution against the institute, claiming it was management-oriented, and then there were sub-meetings.

One of these meetings occurred at Asilomar; it was a three-day meeting. Organized labor came, expecting to find the top University officials, Regents, and the president, as well as the people from the institute there for this three-day discussion. When they arrived there was no one there from the top-level administration. Eventually [John] Oswald, from the President's Office, arrived at the end of the first day. I understand that many people spoke to him and tried to give him their views.

Nathan: Was the purpose of this meeting to attempt to work out differences?

Grether: There was a formal program of discussions, but in the background was this whole issue. I was not there. In my files I have a very careful report on this, however, from Margaret Gordon and Aaron [Gordon]. They both attended this meeting. They interpreted this to me. I wanted this for my information as chairman of this review committee.

Now, something very unfortunate happened here. Ben Aaron, the director of the institute down south, was there only the first day, but he had good personal reasons, apparently, for leaving. Anyway, his institute was not under very much pressure; their community relations and labor relations were not being attacked.

Art Ross was there, and he announced on the second day that he could not be there for the final day. He didn't explain why, until finally he did explain that he had a meeting of the ILO in Geneva, Switzerland. So he disappeared, and this left the labor people alone with some faculty and without the directors present.

The result was that they had a special meeting the next day at luncheon and adopted the following resolution:

We are in accord with the principle of the resolution adopted by the Long Beach convention of the California Labor Federation in August 1962, and we are agreed that to further this principle the University immediately should

establish a University-labor joint board, composed of representatives of the University and of the labor movement in the area to be served, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the California Labor Federation.

The University should establish an autonomous center of labor education and of research useful to the labor movement. The joint board should be convened at the earliest opportunity to consult and advise on the structure of such a center, and to work out the details of its administrative program and research needs. The joint board should periodically thereafter review, consult, and advise with the staff of the center in developing programs of labor education and research geared to the needs of the unions it serves.

This whole episode is reviewed in detail in this report, which is available, if it were desired, to amplify.

Review Committee Report: Problems of Relationships

Nathan: Is there a title to the report?

Grether: No, it is the review committee report. It's a confidential report. Actually, I suppose I should not be having it, but I do have a copy before me.

What finally emerged in the committee review, after we reviewed not only the institute but also Arthur Ross as director, was that we agreed that there was nothing to the charge that the institute was management-oriented. By far the larger proportion of resources went into the labor programs.

We did agree there was a problem. Obviously, there was a problem here of relationships. So we supported the idea of setting up this joint board, and also recommended that an associate director be appointed to work in this area, since the director had not found time in his own busy schedule of

teaching, research, and arbitration work. In fact, there was some criticism that he and other faculty were sometimes doing too much arbitration work, a nice little problem which is always present. Clark Kerr has done a great deal of arbitration work also. In some senses, this is a laboratory for people in this field.

The committee agreed wholeheartedly that it would be madness to terminate the institute. This should not be the result, but it realized that the institute's life was at stake here. If a separate, autonomous center were set up for labor, that would practically destroy the institute. In fact, there was some discussion that if that happened, you could transfer the rest of it to Herb Blumer in the Social Science Research Center, which was in operation at the time. It was felt that there was a problem here that the director must deal with and resolve. There is page after page of discussion of this. When it came to the director, it was noted that actually the other aspects of the program were doing very well, especially the research aspects.

Perhaps I can read something here that gives the flavor of this:

It seems evident, too, that too little time has been allocated to meeting with the formal advisory groups, let alone to informal advisory relationships. The large important community advisory board has not been convened in recent years. The faculty advisory committee has met, at most, once a year, and has never been brought into a full consultative relationship.

The senior research staff, for the most part, have not been brought into group discussion, thinking, and planning, except under the present emergency. Furthermore, there have been no systematic means for bringing them into contact with organized labor. There have been conferences on occasion for reporting the results of research, as on the aging population.

By the way, Margaret Gordon was directing that study.

"The institute has been administered very largely as a benevolent autocracy, not as a consultative democracy." This was the problem; this was the way faculty members would prefer it, in an ideal situation. But this situation developed.

There's something very basic here. The whole theory of this type of research was that it would be channeled back into management and labor discussions, and be helpful. That was really Governor Warren's thinking, too. He didn't stress research--"Yes, we'll accept it, but--"; it would be of this nature. Later on in our real estate research program, which we haven't discussed, the same issue arose.

The shining example of this kind of thing is in agriculture. The prime reason that agriculture is so efficient--it takes so few people in the field of agriculture--is the fact that you had enormous research projects, financed by the federal government, and also privately, and the results were channeled by extension service directly to the farm and put to work. The hope was that something of this sort could happen in this field. It was not happening, because the professors were going their own ways; they were not getting the appropriate interaction.

When it came to the director, Art Ross, we noted that if it hadn't been for this episode with organized labor, he'd probably not even have been reviewed, because there was not a regular review process at this time. On the research side, the results were on such a high level. In addition, the Journal of Industrial Relations had been established during this period. Things were going along very well.

Nathan: Do I understand you to say that at that time there was no periodic review of organized research?

Grether: I don't think so. I'm not sure of this, but could check on that. Now it's part of the regular machinery. I don't think at that time the regular five-year review process had been set up as yet.

This whole record is reviewed here. Then we recommended that Ross be given the opportunity to continue as director, provided he were willing to really go to work on this problem with organized labor, and give it the kind of attention that it required. I understand that the chancellor, who was then Edward W. Strong, called the

director in and read parts of this report to him. I have in front of me here the letter that Art Ross sent to me, which he wrote to Strong on April 30, 1963, declining the reappointment. The reason will not surprise you: "The reason for my decision is that at the present stage of my career, I wish to concentrate on research with greater absorption and continuity than I have been able to attain in several years."

That's understandable, that's the pattern, and in addition there was a very sizeable grant from the Ford Foundation which was to be administered by Aaron Gordon and by Art. There was a good basis for this kind of decision.

Center for Labor Research and Education (1962)

Grether: Our problem here, as I see it, is not one of full review; it's historical. What happened next ought to be noted, because these things have been worked out. Lloyd Ulman became director, and he's still [1978] director. A center of labor research was set up within the institute. This was in accordance with the recommendation of that labor group, but it was not autonomous; it was a center within the institute, and we pointed this out in our report. The centers could be autonomous, but they could also be subsections of the institute, and that's what was developed here. It's called Center for Labor Research and Education.

What happened here was that Clark Kerr, Ulman, and Pitts, who was the secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO in California, got together, and Don Vial was appointed head of this center. That was a brilliant appointment. He came out of organized labor. He was the director of research. He just happened to have the right set of personal qualities, too. He had the ability of interacting and reestablishing the relationships, and also the equilibrium, if you wish. This is evidenced by the fact that he has been now the Director of Industrial Relations, a cabinet member in the Brown administration, and he's been replaced by another man.

So far as one can tell, and I have not reviewed the record under Ulman because that's not our problem, this whole issue has disappeared. Among other things, they have run a joint type of seminar, which Lloyd tends to chair

himself. That's been helpful in bringing both labor and management together for discussion of papers and separate issues.

Well, that's the end of the story so far as the institute is concerned.

Further Comments on the Institute

Nathan: It's tremendously interesting. I wonder if I could go back to something you said a little earlier. In discussing what you thought might well have been some of Warren's motives in urging that this be set up, you said he thought this might be a method for avoiding strikes.

Grether: Yes.

Nathan: In your view, was that a consequence of setting up the institute?

Grether: I am not the qualified person to answer that. My guess is that probably that was overly optimistic. But it's possible that Warren had the model of what happened in the agricultural field. If the people are better informed on both sides, they can work these relationships out more effectively.

Actually, as far as I can tell from looking at the report of the institute currently, they have an enormous number of educational programs going for people at various levels of organized labor, to make them more efficient in carrying out their activities. There's a bigger group involved there, and, for instance, only one man in the management field, Jack Hislop. There's much less activity in management.

But actually, the management area tends to be served by the School of Business and other units, so labor needs more attention. It's been getting this, and apparently the people who caused this particular outbreak are happy now. Things seem to be under control. Maybe this is a dangerous thing to say, because maybe tomorrow it might break out again, but I don't see any signs of it.

Now, to answer your question, I don't know for certain. My guess is, no. There are other problems that are a much larger sort that affect attitudes. But certainly one cannot argue against having everybody better informed and more efficient in working through collective bargaining. This was Warren's view--that these procedures can be improved, and therefore the result will be greater efficiency, and will be "good." Whether they were good, that's another problem entirely; that I wouldn't try to answer. I would like to try that on some of my friends in labor and management, and see what they think.

In fact, we may have some acid tests coming up right now in this country. Actually, organized labor is losing ground a bit in this country in recent years.

Nathan: Because of economic conditions?

Grether: Yes. There are a lot of things. Organized labor tends to be relatively more conservative than it was during the early days, and the leadership tends to be older. Some of the younger people don't seem to have been attracted towards the organized groups as much as in the past. This is often true in the period of growth and development, in contrast with the period of maturity, which is present now.

Do you think of anything else we ought to put on this record today? (I indicated that this would probably be a shorter session.)

Nathan: This has been very pithy. I wondered if you would have any comment to make about the position of the institute within the University. Any evaluations?

Grether: I think it is one of the few interdisciplinary agencies in the social sciences that not only has survived, but has continued to demonstrate its usefulness. That is, in our part of the campus this has been a major shining light.

I'm glad to notice, looking at the roster of participants, that there is now a very sizeable group of people from business administration. In fact, we have the most numerous group of faculty members again. This was true to begin with, and then I think there was a shift towards economics and other groups. This is to be expected, because we maintain in the School of Business a very strong interdisciplinary set of interests. We tend to be a

catalytic force, trying to bring to bear the results of research in many disciplines. Therefore this [the institute] is a very reasonable outlet for our faculty.

Nathan: Right. And the institute, I think you said, reports to the chancellor rather than to a dean?

Grether: Yes. I think now, to some extent, they may even report first to the provost. The present chancellor has two provosts. I think they probably report to Maslach, but I haven't checked this out. It would be reasonable, Maslach to the chancellor, as a professional. At one time, possibly the graduate dean might have been in the chain of reporting.

Nathan: Does that say something about its status on campus?

Grether: Yes. And also it's off the campus now; it's in a house over on Channing Way. At first we objected to this. The idea was to have your institute, Governmental Studies, and the Institute of Industrial Relations in Moses Hall. But we lost that space. You were able to protect your space there.

Lloyd told me the other day over the phone that this has worked out rather well. They are near the campus, and being in their own separate house there is a kind of a community, especially with the graduate students. It's kind of a healthy situation. It's turned out to be okay, although I think they must have lost something by being pulled away from you people in Governmental Studies. But it seems to be working reasonably well.

XXIV RISE AND DECLINE OF THE REAL ESTATE PROGRAM IN THE
UNIVERSITY (1947-1976)

[Interview 20: December 1, 1978]##

Nathan: You were saying that you had been doing some interesting research with respect to the real estate program, among others.

Grether: Yes, I've been working almost day and night for a number of weeks now. You see this accumulation of documents here--

Nathan: Yes, that's about a foot and a half high.

Grether: In addition, for example, I went over yesterday and got out some of the files on the President's Office in the archives, especially for the period 1945-1950. Then, Wednesday, I had the pleasure of spending some time with Senator Arthur Breed in his offices in Oakland, looking at some of his files, and having lunch with him. I was able to draw upon his very long experience with respect to this program and in the state legislature.

He was a senator for twenty years during that period, of course, and was very influential in relation to the University's affairs and budget and so on. Before that he'd been in the assembly for four terms, and before that his father had been a senator, and he'd worked as clerk or assistant to his father. He has a tremendous background. His files, I think, could be obtained for the University Archives and could be a gold mine. I plan to call that to the attention of Mr. [J.R.K.] Kantor, who is away on vacation just now.

Complexities of the School's Relationships

Grether: In some ways, the relationships and problems that developed in this area are among the most interesting and difficult, at least in my experience. They typify, in a sense, problems that almost all schools of business or schools of management--no matter what you call them--as well as other professional units have in trying to work out appropriate, balanced programs of education, research, or what have you.

Every school of business, for example, is surrounded by an environment of enterprises, associations, government agencies, and so on, to which it must relate. I made a speech or two along this line one time in the past, so I'll try not to be too voluminous in my remarks. The problem was very real. I used to think of myself, when I was dean, as sitting in the middle of a series of spiderwebs. I was a big spider relating to this network of relationships within the University--within the campus, within the University system--in the community, professional associations, business enterprises, and so on. It was a very complex set of relationships that one had to deal with.

Nathan: Is this more true in schools of business than in some others, do you think?

Grether: I think so, because a school of business in a sense is a catalytic agent for a whole series of disciplines that are brought to bear in relation to the problems of business enterprises or governmental units. In other words, the school of business is concerned with the business aspects or the managerial aspects of operating businesses. That brings a whole series of things to bear, as we'll see. This is a very good example.

In this particular case, what happened was something as follows, as I am able to reconstruct it. I'm not entirely happy with the early period; I'm still searching for more in the files. I think I can be on fairly safe ground, subject maybe to some revision later on.

Pressure for a University Program

Grether: Real estate is a very important activity in California, at all levels. There are literally thousands of brokers who are licensed by the state. The activity is enormous. The problems are tremendous in all directions, whether it's financing or the use of urban land. As we advance, you'll see that it reaches out very broadly into a whole series of problems and relationships. But also it's well organized; there is a California Real Estate Association, a very powerful group in the state.

So far as I can judge, this group came to the president as early as 1942 with a request that the University do something systematically in this field. (We will learn in a later taping that from 1922 to 1932 a program of specialization in real estate had been listed in the College of Commerce.) This sort of thing came to a head, so far as I can tell, again in 1945, when Maurice G. Read of Berkeley was president of this association.

Now, Morry Read was one of the Berkeley campus alumni (I have a letter here in which he says he graduated in 1929), and was an "Old Blue" type. He was very close to the whole University situation. In this letter, dated October 13, addressed to Stan McCaffrey--who was acting as vice president, working for Kerr, and who was handling this area for President Kerr--he was replying to a Regents' Resolution. I'm sure it's hanging on his wall, because I found the same thing on Senator Breed's wall yesterday--a resolution commending these men for their efforts educationally in the field of real estate.

Nathan: What was the date of Read's letter?

Grether: October 13, 1959, which is very important, because at that time some problems had developed that we will get into as we advance. What he points out here is that he thinks what happened began with his presidency in 1945. He says, "We experienced some delay in order that Dean Grether might contact and interview the top educators in the real estate educational field. None of these gentlemen could be moved to California."

Now, I've checked the president's files, and this was going on. We had one or two turndowns of people we were looking for to bring in, because we had no established person in this field.

Then he goes on to say, "The alternative was to draft Professor Paul Wendt from other duties to head up the real estate program." He said, "This turned out to be the finest thing that happened to our real estate educational program in California." In other words, Paul Wendt did a superb job in relating to the industry and keeping his feet on the ground on the campus. So this was the initial period.

I have another letter here that indicates the kind of problems that developed.

Nathan: May I ask a question now? This 1959 letter came after the program had been underway for a while?

Grether: Yes. The program began in 1947 on the campus. I'll indicate more about that.

Here is a letter, dated March 16, 1949, that I found in Breed's file (he allowed me to take it), from Charles B. Shattuck, realtor and consulting appraiser in Los Angeles, who was a member of a small group that President Sproul was consulting, and also an active member of the profession.

To explain this, Senator Breed introduced a bill in the 1949 session of the legislature to establish a fund--\$25,000 a year for three years--to be used for real estate education in the University system. That bill was lost at the end of this session for a variety of reasons that need not concern us here. But in the Shattuck letter there is a paragraph that I think is very pertinent. He goes on to state:

It seems to me that the program suggested (that is, by the University) makes real estate a mere stepchild. Apparently we have not yet succeeded in impressing upon the University authorities the fact that there should be offered by the University an integrated, well-planned, four-year course of University study, with emphasis upon real estate and its many ramifications. Until such time as some plan can be devised whereby the University will undertake to accord

real estate the attention which its importance in our economy deserves, I, as a member of the State Real Estate Board, will not be willing to vote in favor of making funds from the surplus of the Real Estate Division available to the University.

Now, that's very strong language.

Basic Work vs. Overspecialization

Grether: In back of this were some discussions. I'm still searching for the files on this, but I recall them very well. The members of the industry--just like the governor in the case of industrial relations--to begin with wanted a college or a separate unit on the campus for their industry. A college of real estate sounds really good. The discussions became a bit heated.

At one point I recall saying, "I don't think you'd employ the students that would take this kind of a course. It would be too specialized." I tried to indicate what we were trying to do in our program, and presumably the president had our program in mind, since he had brought me into these discussions. This represents a basic problem of all schools of business. You notice this letter is dated '49.

Nathan: That was from Mr. Shattuck?

Grether: From Mr. Shattuck, yes. I was president of the American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business in 1948-1949. I think in an earlier tape I pointed out that it was during this period that the Association, quite contrary to what some people had predicted, adopted the so-called core program. I'm sometimes called the father of the core program.

Now, what this represents is an endeavor to enunciate what's more important, what's less important. All schools of business should have basic courses of instruction in the more important aspects of preparing for careers in business or in management. This is what I had described to the

association at their meeting in 1947, and indicated we were going to go forward on that basis.

What we would do is that the students would come into the School of Business and take our required work. Then they would be in addition allowed to take what would be called a field of emphasis in real estate and urban land economics. We always advisedly used the term "urban land economics" to make it clear that the setting was broader than merely the details of the practice of what goes on at a broker's office.

I indicated also that we were beginning this program, and that we'd have a basic course. We'd have a course in real estate finance, a course in appraisal, a course in law. This would be at the undergraduate level. Then we would gradually do the same thing at the graduate level, which we did ultimately. Then the students, having completed these requirements, could, if they had electives left over, reach out and take work in other departments or take additional work in business. The University is a rich storehouse of opportunities: agriculture, land economics, for example, and land utilization work and planning over in architecture, later the College of Environmental Design. There is a tremendous storehouse the students could draw upon, depending upon their interests. If they were going into the financial side, they could take a lot of work in the field of finance with us.

Now, this is our philosophy of education, you see--basic work, plus opportunity for a certain amount of specialization. We use the word "emphasis" advisedly, because we think that, especially at the undergraduate level, but sometimes at the graduate level, there should be limited specialization only. They should get a broad platform upon which they can then build, depending upon where in their careers they happen to find themselves. Well, apparently Mr. Shattuck did not accept this type of thinking. I'm sure some other members of the profession never understood this. They wanted a lot of detailed work.

We thought of the detailed, business type of work as being given in Extension, for the people who were preparing for the license examinations, or for continuing education, and that took place also. But we wanted to preserve the campus program entirely in terms of what we considered to be a sound approach educationally.

Research Funds and the Pot of Gold

Grether: There was a deeper problem here in some sense. In these discussions we said that there must be funds for research. It would be impossible to have a high-level professional program separate from research, not only a factual basis but from analytical analysis of the whole environment in which these activities take place.

It was clear that some of them had very serious doubts. In fact, this came to be a continuing problem throughout the entire program. The leaders, like Senator Breed and Morry Read, were okay. In fact, later on I would like to quote from Breed in this respect. They understood this. They understood the University, and also understood what this would do to the practice of real estate professionally, to have a strong basis in a research program.

But for the run-of-mine practitioners, no. They wanted their money spent for relatively practical types of courses, quite appropriate to Extension, but not appropriate for detailed work on the campus.

There were other aspects here, too. The real problem stemmed from what I like to call the pot of gold scenario. The realtors pay license fees, and these are accumulated into a fund. At the time these conversations were inaugurated, that fund had about \$1 million in it. They were offering to allow some of these funds to be used for our purposes. If used properly, this was tremendous. Here's where our faculty could visualize a research basis, and also Extension.

Extension has to support itself, for the most part. Extension saw an opportunity here for patronage on a broader basis throughout the entire state, where there were thousands and thousands of students. In fact, at one time there were literally thousands of enrollees in these courses throughout the state. Here was a basis, with some funds from the state, for a major enterprise in Extension and in research.

Now, we made it clear that any faculty members employed would not be paid out of this fund. The employment of the

faculty member and his salary must come out of the general fund, because we wanted to be sure there were no strings attached. This is the policy of the University in general, and in our School of Business also. The professorships that you see occasionally do not pay the basic salary; they pay extras--the chairs that are being established. They are not intended to pay the basic salary, but merely to add extras, like for the summer or for research purposes or travel. They are extra emoluments, but the basic salary should come out of the general fund.

So we went forward, then, in these terms. I think we probably assumed that through experience, eventually all of us would learn, working together, that we might operate at what we would call the appropriate university level, and gain the confidence of the people in the industry. I should make it clear that this was a statewide program, like in industrial relations.

Nathan: Did some of the realtors' license fees actually get to this program?

Grether: Yes.

Nathan: They did. Through the state?

Grether: Let me explain that, and then we'll come back to this. The bill that Senator Breed introduced in 1949 failed. In 1950 it was incorporated in the budget bill and doubled the amount. It raised it from \$25,000 to \$50,000 each year for three years, so it would be a three-year program. Later on that was increased again for another three-year period. There were three three-year periods of this sort, and the amount of financing increased.

Educational Trust Fund and the Real Estate Commissioner

Grether: In addition, I think it was in 1956 that the license fees were increased by 25 percent, and all of that went into what was called an educational trust fund. It was segregated, to be used for education under the control of the real estate commissioner. Until recently, under the Brown administration, he had to be a real estate man--that is, with experience of a broker's type--and he was. You can see

the setting here, and the potentiality for difficulty, with a fund coming from the members of the industry, and with a special trust fund being segregated under the control of the real estate commissioner.

Nathan: Those were earmarked?

Grether: Earmarked for educational purposes.

Before we detoured, I was saying this was statewide. I was talking to Sherman Maisel about the program the other day, and he said that I had told him that President Sproul at one point suggested maybe the whole program should be concentrated at UCLA. He said, "There's so little we can give them down there, maybe they could take this program." I don't recall that that sharply, but it must have happened. At the beginning this was true. It's certainly no longer true of UCLA; they now have everything we have, plus.
[laughter]

What did emerge was a division of the funds just about equally, north and south, both in research and for the continuing education purposes, to administer statewide. In Extension it got to be a major program, with a statewide coordinator and a coordinator north and south. It got to be a very big operation.

University's Research Program

Grether: On the research side, within the University system these funds, which were sizable, gave probably one of the finest research bases in the system. Also it allowed the faculties to employ some very able people. I think I can say without fear of contradiction that the level of the faculty both north and south here is very high. The research programs, like in the field of industrial relations, that were enunciated made us within a few years the national leaders. This got to be the strongest situation in the United States. It's a shame, by the way, that not everybody in the industry understood the strength of this situation, especially in the office of the real estate commissioner, because troubles did develop there.

For example, to illustrate the kind of names here, I mentioned Paul Wendt. Sherman J. Maisel, in the field of housing, was a very active member of the group. Often, in trying to interpret this, I said this was seed corn on which we can now build to get other funds. Maisel got a major grant in the housing field. So did Wendt, later on. There were federal funds and foundation funds that, once you've got a basis, can be used for additional research purposes.

This was true down south. Eventually Hank [Henry] Schaff became a member of this group. Richard Ratcliff, who was a well-known national figure, was added to the faculty, until he finally went up to the University of British Columbia and has since retired. Down south, for example, they had Fred Case, of whom Senator Breed spoke very highly the other day, James Gillies, and especially Leo Grebler, who on the academic side did an exceedingly fine job, I thought. In addition to these people who were more or less specialists, there were people in law and financing related to it. It was a very solid situation, and we all took a lot of pride in it. But underneath all the time was a certain lack of confidence by the people out in the industry.

Nathan: Was this called the center for--

Grether: No. I'm glad you raised that question. The research program, to begin with, was housed in the Institute of Business and Economic Research. This I want to talk about eventually, if we have time. This minimizes the administrative overhead, because it has its own staff and director, and then the programs that become housed there do not have to have special facilities. It was housed there for a number of years, and very successfully during that period. In fact, when we get to the end of the story, it's gone back there again now. In a sense, maybe this should be called the rise and decline of the real estate program in the University of California system.

Expansion to a Statewide Base

Grether: As the years moved along, the real difficulties that finally became almost insuperable developed in the office of the real estate commissioner. Since these were funds paid by his constituents, and since he was a member of the industry

and reported to them and had a sense of fealty to them, it's understandable why he would have this feeling and regard. It came to a head first with a commissioner named F. W. Griesinger.

I have a whole file in front of me here, which I accumulated from these voluminous files, about the problems that arose. This is why I'm going slowly. Here I have to explain. When the real estate trust fund was set up as a special adjunct to the general fund of license fees--you've got two funds here to keep in mind--it was decided to broaden the base from the University to the junior colleges, now called community colleges; to state colleges, now called state university system; and even broader than that.

My feeling was, until I talked to Senator Breed on Wednesday, that this probably was similar to what occurred in the case of industrial relations. The governor thought in terms of a communitywide program. He wanted everybody to understand this field, from the high schools on up. Probably the real estate people had this in mind. Senator Breed said no, to the contrary. He was the senator from this county who was handling this budget. People came to him all the time from other districts where they had junior colleges and state colleges, and said, "We ought to share in this money." So there was pressure, you see. Here was a pot of gold. There was pressure from others who said, "Why don't our people get a chunk of this?"

He said he went to the President and said there ought to be a master plan of some sort for the use of these funds. What emerged was that President Sproul and Superintendent Roy E. Simpson (I think it was at that time) set up an advisory committee to study this whole problem in the context of all members of the public system of higher education. They recommended a major study, and this is the little volume right here: A Study of Real Estate Education and Research Needs in California.

Nathan: What's the date on that?

Grether: This is published by the California State Department of Education, Sacramento, 1959. The director of the study was Lyman J. Smith.

This is a very comprehensive analysis. It became, in a sense, the platform for the future, because these funds now

no longer were concentrated in the University's program, but were divided at all levels. This was true also in the Extension programs. After all, the community colleges had a very good basis for doing this. In fact, much of it should have been there anyway, rather than in the University system. One consequence was that University Extension lost a lot of business which it found very valuable in terms of maintaining its income base.

This discusses not only these relationships, but it discusses research areas. For example, on pages 62-63 there's a description of the University of California research programs in this field, and this is under seventeen heads.

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Nathan: You were just referring to the report by Lyman Smith.

Grether: Which got to be a basic document.

Funds, and the Role of the Real Estate Commissioner

Grether: This now put things in quite a different context. Before this time it had been the University program; now it was a statewide program. Also, it raised the question as to where the center of power would rest in this statewide program. The University has always insisted upon, as you well know, its independence. Once funds are granted to it, it operates quite independently of any outside control. The real estate commissioner sitting in the middle of all this saw himself, obviously, as a very powerful person, and he began to insert himself into our relationships as well as into others.

I have a lot of documents here [shows documents]. A lot of discussions took place. I won't go into them in detail, but the University's view was that his responsibility should be to coordinate.

Nathan: In what way did he seek to exercise power?

Grether: He began raising questions about our research program, and its character and quality. There were meetings held with him. The official University view was, "It's all right for

you, Mr. Commissioner, to coordinate, but you're not to tell us what to do. We're glad to get your judgment, the advice of you and your real estate board." He had a board of advisors, you see. Finally, this goes before the President's Real Estate Advisory Committee. Here is where I want to be sure we get the record entirely clear.

In 1950, when Senator Breed successfully got these funds transferred from the Real Estate License Fund for use in education, President Sproul agreed that none of these funds would be spent without the approval of what came to be called the President's Real Estate Advisory Committee or Board. He set up a very powerful committee that represented the members of the industry, north and south, including ex officio--for example, a real estate commissioner and the president, always, of the Real Estate Association. All of the funds, as they came along to the University, were cleared through this committee.

Nathan: This committee had no academics on it? It was an industry committee?

Grether: Oh, no. The deans of the School of Business, and Paul Wendt, for example, as a professor who was heading up this work--we sat with them; but I'm not sure whether we were considered members of the committee or not. [laughter] We were there to give our views and to defend our budgetary requests.

President Sproul took this very, very seriously. He attended these meetings himself. In fact, I rather think he enjoyed them. I think Sproul was his best, in a sense, in this kind of environment. The meetings were usually followed by a nice dinner and social period, and they were very useful and helpful in terms of cross-fertilization of ideas and getting acquainted and so on. We didn't object to that, because this was the president's committee, and there were basic discussions.

But when the commissioner began to insert himself--for example, at one of these meetings later on, the next commissioner, Savage, had been present, and the use of the funds had been cleared through the President's Advisory Committee. He was at the meeting. He did not vote against them, but he later on said he didn't vote for it, either. He blue-penciled three of the items that had been approved

by the previous commissioner. So things got to be a little bit tough in this whole area.

Actually, I suspect this is the only situation of this kind in the whole University scheme of things. I'm not sure of this, but I suspect it is, because I find something in the files to this effect; that Sproul, in doing this, had set up a most unusual type of administrative advisory committee. It might be because he knew of its high sensitivity; Sproul at his best had high sensitivity to what was going on in the state.

Also, and I'm not sure whether this has any significance, this happened in 1950. That was the year of the oath. Sproul was very busy defending himself against Regent Neylan, and the University was in trouble. He probably, to some extent, wished the support of this powerful group politically. In any event, as far as I could tell, during my period of experience it was workable as long as he was there himself and it was under his direct eye, so to speak, or control.

Now, when Kerr came along, I don't think he ever attended these meetings. He either had Jim Corley or Stan McCaffrey or somebody else handle it. The committee continued, you see. I might be wrong about this, but I think this is true. In the very nature of things, I think, it was almost inevitable that the real estate commissioner would begin to feel his power under this kind of a situation.

When Commissioner Savage blue-penciled some items that had been approved by the President's Advisory Commission and gone forward-- [laughter] I find in the files here a meeting set up with Jim Corley and myself and the commissioner. It might be worth putting this in the record. I have here an outline of the talk I made there. I presented the whole history of the program to this point in detail (I needn't repeat it here). I pointed out that you had this very high level presidential advisory committee procedure set up by President Sproul, and continued by President Kerr, and I said, "So far as I know, no other industry or group has ever received equivalent advisory opportunity in the University." I may be wrong about that.

[continues reading] "The off-campus teaching, on-campus teaching, and research programs were adopted as a package."

All of them were considered to be a part of the University's responsibility. "Adequate research support was basic to the instructional effort. If adequate research support was not forthcoming, we must commence to adjust or liquidate the other aspects of the program."

Nathan: That was rather strong language.

Grether: Yes, it was. [continues reading] "The research bases established by the special funds were only seed corn. We had been able to attract other money. The result was, we had undoubtedly the strongest situation in the United States." This was a combination of the state support and what we'd been able to get from other agencies.

But above all, we needed stability so we could continue making plans, and we needed to have reliance upon the review procedures. No more ad hoc intrusions into our affairs, so to speak.

The commissioner agreed to this. It seemed to be all right. My notes indicate, by the way, that Jim Corley performed very well. He explained the importance of research in the University scheme of things, and that there were risks up ahead--or across the street, since this took place in Sacramento--if we had a divided approach. We needed to understand each other. My last comment is that the meeting was entirely friendly. But actually it didn't work out. There was always some tendency on the part of the commissioner's office to reach into the program and do more than coordinate. This was in 1961.

It may be important to put into this something I picked up from Senator Breed on Wednesday. He made a speech before the Eleventh Annual Real Estate Educational Conference, Saturday, November 15 [1959], held at the Claremont Hotel in Berkeley. This was a group that got together--academics, people from the industry--to discuss educational problems. By this time the sort of problems that I have been discussing were already present with the previous commissioner. Breed went on to point out how we have such a strong program. By the way, he had reason to do this, because he'd always handled the budget, and had been one of the promoters of the program.

Then he went on to say:

There are those in California who are not satisfied with the real estate research and education program, and they would like to abolish the President's Advisory Committee and substitute therefor an advisory committee by the real estate commissioner, and some want it to be named by the California Real Estate Association. What they have in mind they have put down on paper, so it is clear what they desire. They desire to tell the University what they may research, and if you please, if they don't like what the University proposes, they will cut off their funds.

The next step, of course, would be to tell the University what conclusions must be produced from a research project. [laughter] Of course, no educational institution worthy of the name could possibly stand for such dictation, and therefore real estate education in California, which has reached the peak in the nation, is teetering precariously on its pinnacle. If wise heads don't put a solid foundation under it, it will surely topple and crash, carrying down with it other worthwhile educational offerings elsewhere.

I am afraid our problem stems somewhat from the fact that we have now too much money to spend. Consequently, it is a very attractive prize for anyone to become interested in. The state budget estimates that on June 30, 1959, there will be in the state treasury in the Real Estate Research and Education Fund, over \$1,350,000.

Now, things began to change on the campus also. In the meantime, Professor Ratcliff had been added to the faculty, and it was a very strong situation.

Nathan: May I ask whether the faculty in this program were productive? Did they publish?

Grether: Oh, a tremendous list. In fact, if I got into that area, we'd be here a week. It was tremendously productive. What

I don't understand is why some of the people didn't get a sense of pride out of this. They should have.

Nathan: Of course.

Grether: I guess you should visualize thousands and thousands of people who are so-called brokers, and since it's their fees that are being used, they maybe have no basis to understand the significance of some of this.

There is a continuing educational problem, always, here in terms of public relations in the University. In a sense, once this became statewide the advantage was shifted to the community colleges in the state system because they are closer. Therefore this will tend to strengthen the commissioner.

This has happened to the University in general. There was a time when, if the University was in trouble, Sproul would go to the phone and call some alumni, because we controlled pretty much. But this is no longer true. In a sense, this typifies the problems that the University is having increasingly in Sacramento. There is an increasing tendency for the legislature, the governor, and others to try to dictate what should take place.

In fact, at the end of the line on this (I might put it in here now), the present governor tried to allocate some of these funds to his own uses for his so-called urban think tank. [laughter] It got to be quite a scramble. Also, the law was changed so that the commissioner no longer has to be a member of the industry. The present commissioner was an antitrust lawyer and not a member of the industry, so the whole setting is somewhat different now.

Center for Research in Real Estate and Urban Economics and the IURD

Grether: In the meantime, other things happened that are very important here. Up to this point, during this entire period the research program was housed in the Institute of Business and Economic Research. Then in 1963 a center was set up, so there was a Center for Research in Real Estate and Urban Economics as a research center with its own facilities and

so on. But that became a sub-center of the Institute of Urban and Regional Development, which was housed over in the Environmental School.

Nathan: Urban and Regional Development--?

Grether: IURD is what it got to be called. You've probably heard about that.

I talked to Sherm Maisel about this, and he said what was going on here was that over in that part of the campus, to begin with, they hadn't done much research. We had, and our presence in this new setup would help strengthen this program. I was no longer dean, and I had no involvement in this. At the time, when I heard about it, I felt probably a mistake was being made, but I could be wrong. I could see the dream, the vision that emerged here.

IURD, the institute of which the Center for Research in Real Estate and Urban Economics was now a sub-center, was housed over at the old Anna Head School building. It had its own facilities. Actually, it didn't make too much difference to its operations. It was supposed to be one of the series of sub-centers under the institute. This got to be a very ambitious program.

I have in front of me, by the way, the background statement for the five-year review of IURD and the Center for Real Estate and Urban Economics. Until I picked this up, I didn't realize how ambitious this dream was. They apparently thought of themselves as center of a federation of social science research agencies dealing with urban problems. After all, it touches almost all aspects of life. There had been in the past strong foundation support and support from federal agencies for research in this area, but this actually did not come off.

As I pick these papers up, it reminds me of some of the efforts that were tried when Clark Kerr was chancellor and I was dean. You may recall that when we had that taping we discovered, finally, that some of these grand schemes were not productive. Apparently the soundest approach is to have a program of your own that you control, and then reach out. The scheme of having a broad federation, although it's a very nice vision, probably was just like in our earlier efforts, premature. In any event, it left the center dangling pretty much by itself.

In the meantime, the real estate commissioner got increasing control over the funds. What finally emerged here was that the University could get funds only on a project basis, and he controlled the funds.

Nathan: Would you say that this center was in any way in competition with the housing research in the Law School?

Grether: Yes. In fact, that's what the governor had in mind, apparently: transferring from this fund into that program over there. So this got to the political arena in the current scheme.

What has happened is that in 1976 the center was closed. We now have, as we had originally, a research program in the Institute of Business and Economic Research where the overhead for administration is very minor, and where whatever funds are available go directly into research. Wallace Smith, by the way, was the director of the program towards the end of all of this, and there are some pretty bitter memoranda in the files here.

He at the very end tried to develop something I think is very comparable to what you people do [at the Institute of Governmental Studies]. He wanted to have the center become a kind of center for information for the industry, with tremendous library resources, where people could call in with problems. Then graduate student assistants would go to work on those problems. He said this worked very well. The graduate students were excited, and some of the problems were very interesting and exciting. But that didn't seem to be entirely viable.

As you know, what happened was that the center's library, which is a good library, is housed over with you in IGS now. The research has gone to the IBER, and we still have a modest teaching program here in the school. By the way, it's a viable program. The students get good jobs, and from the educational standpoint it's a strong program. I understand a new man is being brought in next semester, and Paul Wendt is going to be back at least temporarily during the winter and spring quarters again. That will give me an opportunity to talk about some of these things and check some of my recollections and impressions and my reading of the files with him.

After the Glory Days

Grether: That, in a sense, represents a case study in the relationships between a school of business and its constituency. I think that if it had been merely the California Real Estate Association, things could have worked out. But having a governmental agency--the Real Estate Commission--got to be the center of the problem of the relationships.

Nathan: If you could generalize a little from this, would you suggest that maybe the University and the industry can set up a workable system, as long as there isn't a powerful governmental official attempting to get in it?

Grether: Well, in this case I think that when it went statewide, this strengthened the position of the commissioner.

Nathan: Of course; he had leverage then.

Grether: Also, it relatively weakened the position of the University. Actually, this really gets into the Master Plan very nicely, so there's no problem from that standpoint, if the commissioners had been wise enough. The documentation is very good here (if I wanted to get into it with you, for the record), making it clear that the University cherishes and must have its independence. Once it gets funds, they then are its funds.

In fact, this Real Estate Advisory Committee was a most unusual, so to speak, bridge between an industry and the government and the campus. In fact, it would be interesting for someone to go to work to see if anything else like this has occurred in the history of the University, and how it has worked. Do you know of anything, for example, like this?

Nathan: No, I can't think of anything.

Grether: What will happen now, I judge, is that individual faculty members will seek research funds, and they will be administered through the IBER, like other research funds. There will be a minimum reliance upon the state, because you

have to go there on a special project basis. The glory days are over, so to speak, from what happened during the peak of the pinnacle, to use the language of Senator Breed.

Nathan: How clear sighted he was.

Grether: Yes, in 1958 we were teetering, and it's true.

Nathan: I wonder whether industry is willing to raise funds, allocate them to the University, and then take hands off?

Grether: Oh, yes. In fact, you have to. If we have time, let's talk about this a bit. This is a very common problem. This is the most systematic record that I know of. That's why I've taken so much time with it. This happens time and time again, that groups come to the University and want to get educational recognition. In fact, it's one of the problems of this network I spoke of. Let's talk about this a bit.

Last Tuesday at the chancellor's home, University House, in the afternoon and evening we had the recognition of the Michael Chetkovitch Chair in Accounting. It was established by Deloitte Haskins and Sells firm, an international accounting firm, for Mike Chetkovitch, one of our brilliant graduates. He had a paper in the afternoon, and then in the evening there was a pleasant little dinner at the chancellor's house, in which he made some remarks, and other people did also.

Now, this was in accounting. There's no problem here, to begin with. Every business firm, every agency of any sort, has an accounting problem; they must keep accounts and records. It's so basic. Everybody wants some training of some sort. By the way (I'm sort of afraid to put this in the record), I've never had a course in accounting.

In any event, our relationships with accounting have always been solid, with the professional associations, local and national. It's a basic part of our program. Here, now, they come along with \$300,000 from one accounting firm to establish this chair. There are big research funds also, from time to time.

This goes right through our program. Finance--we've got the Witter Fund; William Witter. For example, almost any organized group would like to be represented. Advertising at times created great problems. I won't take time now to

put this in the record, but there have been some very interesting problems. Advertising is well organized, and they wanted more attention than they were getting. There are courses given in this field. The purchasing people--there's one course usually given that represents their interests, and they gave the so-called C. W. Whitney Award (he was head of their association for a long time) to students. Transportation? We've got work in transportation.

Nathan: Is that so?

Grether: Yes, there's been work here. Professor Daggett was one of our great scholars working on transportation.

Insurance, a very basic industry-- Well, I could continue like this. The real estate people were aware of the fact that we had courses representing other areas of economic activity, and they considered themselves just as important, and rightly so. I think it's entirely appropriate for us to have an educational and a research program in this area fitting into our scheme of things. It's to be handled by us. It had to fit into our scheme of things, rather than the very detailed ideas that some of them had for a lot of specialized work, more than could or should be done under our scheme of things.

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Nathan: We were mentioning a few more ramifications of this account that we've been discussing today.

Grether: At the break it occurred to me that I didn't make clear that we had a program at both the MBA (Master of Business Administration degree) and doctoral levels in real estate and urban land economics.

The MBA program has been well patronized. I was surprised, by the way, at the undergraduate level (maybe I mentioned this). The first time we offered the course--I think it was 1947--in the undergraduate program, 100 students enrolled in it; I thought there'd be 25. So there's been a very strong basis of demand, and this is true all through it.

At the doctoral level, it's been a small program, but there have been some good people. What you had here, with

this strong basis of support from the state fund and from private sources, was a way of giving student training and support in research at both the MBA and the doctoral level. Some very fine people have come through this program who have gone out in the industry or into teaching or in research efforts. I assume this will continue, but on perhaps a somewhat smaller basis, unless funds come along from other sources.

Now, I mentioned also the Extension program, and perhaps should call to the attention of the record this report by Alan A. Herd, October 23, 1974, Report to the University of California Extension on Real Estate Education. Herd is a private consultant; he was employed by Extension to make this study. It's a very nice job, 82 pages long, and gives the background data of the enrollments in the past and so on, and makes some suggestions as to what he thought Extension could do.

As I mentioned earlier, Extension came into competition. There got to be very strong competition in this area from the community colleges, and even from the realtors' own association, as well as private schools. USC got into this act also. It's a very interesting document. It indicates various types of educational groups involved. The picture is one that gets to be unbelievably complex. He discusses also the Department of Real Estate and its role.

I won't go into that in detail; the record shows it's available for anyone who would like to expand his basis of knowledge in this field.

I think that's all we need to do today, Harriet.

Nathan: All right, that's fine.

[Interview 21: December 15, 1978]##

Nathan: Were we going to say more about the real estate program?

Grether: I always keep learning new things. I want to add a couple of things.

I discovered--much to my surprise and chagrin, because I was here during all of this period--that from about 1922 to 1932 the College of Commerce, in its announcement, listed a

program of specialization in the field of real estate. This was merely a compilation of existing courses in the college or elsewhere on the campus, plus a course, mind you, in Real Estate Subdivision and Design.

Nathan: How interesting.

Grether: Yes, it would have been, but I can't find that it was ever given. [laughter] I looked through a number of announcements, and couldn't find that it was ever given. It also mentioned that this opportunity for specialization was with the advice and consultation of the California Real Estate Association, so they were there that early in the effort to obtain educational recognition for people coming into the field.

Also, I discover from Dean [Earl F.] Cheit that he and Dean Harold Williams of UCLA went to see the real estate commissioner about a year and a half or two years ago, and they are hopeful that it may be possible to reestablish the relationship on some working level with that office again. Harold Williams, by the way, has left UCLA to become head of the Securities and Exchange Commission, as you no doubt know. Also, a young man is coming in from MIT, Kenneth Rosen, as a new appointee in the field, so there may be some new developments in this field.

XXV SOME HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE OF COMMERCE FROM 1898, AND
LIFE CYCLES OF UNIVERSITY STRUCTURES

Grether: We agreed, do you remember, that this time we would stress the area of management science. Before we do that, if you don't mind, Harriet, I'd like to go right back to the beginning of the College of Commerce and think in terms of what was done in that period that's been dropped, and what has continued throughout the entire period, since 1898.

Early Emphasis

Grether: You'll recall also that the College of Commerce was set up with a very broad vision of trying to find a vehicle to interrelate with the emerging nations around the Pacific Basin. It was one of the four colleges of General Culture, so-called; it was not a narrow trade school approach. In the original College of Commerce stress, for example, geography was very important; there were very close working relationships between the people in geography and commerce. That has pretty well disappeared.

Languages were important; for years there was a requirement for work in foreign languages. Towards the end of that period it became a so-called Subject B requirement, where one could take a test to demonstrate competence and avoid taking the required courses. There was a heavy stress on history, especially history of the area, and government aspects. There was a heavy stress on transportation in relation to foreign trade, and also geography. We had one of the leading scholars in the country in that field,

Professor Stuart Daggett. Now, that has continued down to the present, but it's been deemphasized somewhat, relatively, in contrast.

One of the curious things in the early period was that there was also a course and work in actuarial science. We always had a leading actuary on the College of Commerce faculty. That continued down through the appointment and final decease of Professor Albert H. Mowbray, who was also chairman of the Economics Department at one time. His successor was first John W. Cowee, and then, more recently, Bob Goshay. So far as I know, they were not actuaries. They were very competent and well trained in the field of insurance, but relatively I would say the field of insurance has, especially in the actuarial science sense, declined a bit.

There was always a heavy stress and relationship with economics, and I might say that relatively this is not so important now. Something called behavioral sciences has come up, although there is still a very close working relationship with the Economics Department. There was work on labor, but it was labor economics. Later on it became Industrial Relations. The work in marketing appeared slowly and wasn't staffed regularly. I think we went over that one other time, in relation to my own--

Nathan: This was your field?

Grether: Eventually, but when I entered the field it hadn't been taught for one or two years. It was not a field that had settled down as yet. The whole area of production was always a matter of interest and took numerous forms. This will be in the background of some of our discussion when we get into the management sciences.

There were three areas that I want to mention a little more in depth. Through the entire history of the College of Commerce and the modern period of the School of Business Administration, the most solid and basic subject has been accounting. This is where the enrollments are always high, where there are jobs, and also where the relations between the faculty and the profession are almost ideal. Professor Henry Rand Hatfield, who was a great academic leader in this field, always had a teammate from the industry, like John F. Forbes, who would teach a course using his experience in relation to Hatfield's work on the academic side. This sort

of thing has continued down to the present day. I think I mentioned last time the new chair established in the name of Mike Chetkovitch, one of our graduates who has been a great leader.

Nathan: I wonder if this is the time to raise the question: but how do you account for this happy situation with accounting?

Grether: It's partly because it's so basic. Every person in every firm keeps accounts of some sort. Also, these firms have shown the ability to adjust, I think, to the trends, like picking up the computer. They have learned to adjust. They have not had the same problems of trying to relate to what you may call developments in the behavioral areas in quite the same way. They can avoid some of this. Not that they aren't interested, but in some of the fields the stresses and strains between making a proper adjustment to the needs and the quantities to assign on the behavioral side have been very difficult, as we shall see. That's true of my own field of marketing.

Nathan: Is there no politics of accounting, the way there might be a politics of real estate?

Grether: I'm sure there is, but for some reason it's at a different level. For one thing, accountants are certified. The real estate people have a kind of certification, too, for a brokerage license. Recently, questions have been raised about the public accounting profession and the problem of ethics and conduct, but on the whole this has been an area of high respectability.

Also, it's so definitely important. For example, at the Chetkovitch dinner I discovered that his firm audited General Motors. We had one of the faculty members in science on the General Motors Board of Directors at this dinner. So the accountants operate at a very high level in terms of both business and government, and they have been accepted at that level. We are fortunate right now: Maurice Moonitz is president of the American Association of Accounting; before him, Lawrence Vance was, at one time; I suspect (I haven't checked this) Henry Hatfield probably was at one time. In other words, we've had a strong interaction between the people on the academic side and on the professional, partly because they're well organized, too.

Teaching Law in Commerce

Grether: Now, another area that is exceedingly interesting from this standpoint is the area of law. There has always been work in law, in the College of Commerce under the banner of something called commercial law. It continued down into the more recent period under the banner of business law, but some very important changes have occurred in Berkeley, and are occurring in general in this area.

At first it was merely a desire to give students an elementary background, so we tended here to give at the lower division level a course called commercial law, which was kind of a general introduction to law, plus referring to the types of instruments that are used for business and trading purposes. This course was given at the undergraduate level, and was often taken by non-business students because it was a nice introductory course. Also, it was given by the Law School during the early period on this campus. For example, Max Radin gave work over here. Max Radin and Henry Hatfield were great friends.

As long as the Law School did this work, whether it was the lower division level or the next level, it was tremendous, especially when a man like Max Radin was interested to give his time. Then eventually, as the years advanced, two things happened. The government regulations in every area became increasingly onerous and important, so there was a tendency to proliferate courses. The labor field had to have its own course in law; real estate had its own real property law. Every field, almost, had to have a law course attached to it, so business schools tended to become almost little junior law school faculties.

But also--at least in Berkeley, and I think this has been true in general--law schools did not like giving this service work. The man who taught in a school of business didn't have quite the same prestige. Max Radin didn't have to worry, he was so well established, but young men coming to the faculty and asked to teach a course over at the business school began resisting.

The case that finally broke the camel's back, so to speak, was Robert E. Stone, who was in the Law School for a period, but giving this work for us over here in business law. Now, Bob was just a wonderful fellow. I don't imagine

you could find a better human being--good teacher, good lawyer, and so on--but he suffered in recognition in the Law School by giving this relatively service type of work over here. Also, he gave this work to a large group of students, and they would come up with their personal problems. He was a very busy man, and it got to be quite a burden. Finally we brought him over to our faculty; once we had a department where we could do this, we brought him onto our own faculty, where we could try to give him better recognition. Now we have a very sizeable group of people.

What happened here is most interesting. I asked Dow Votaw to try to summarize this for me. Dow gave me a memo dated December 1, in which he indicates how, beginning in late 1958, he surveyed the country to see what was going on. He came up here in Berkeley with what was a relatively new approach, so he thought. I'm going to qualify that shortly. I'll read from his letter:

Based on what I learned from this survey, and on ideas of my own, I prepared an outline for an experimental course called "The Political and Social Environment of Business," and taught it for the first time the summer of 1959, I believe. Later that year, I talked to Earl Cheit about the possibility of his moving over to Business Administration from Economics, to help prepare and teach a regular course in this area. There is a memo on the file dated October 19, 1959, where I reported to a favorable reaction from Cheit. He did join our faculty in 1960.

He and I experimented with the course a couple of times that year, and then got it regularized in 1961 in both graduate and undergraduate programs, and soon thereafter added to the required core of both programs. About the same time, the name of our subject matter field was changed to "Political, Social, and Legal Environment."

Then he goes on to say how since then the faculty has expanded so they include people not only trained in law, but political scientists, sociologists, historians, economists;

so they have a very strong group. In fact, Dow thinks--and he's probably right--that it's the strongest group in the country under this banner. In their thinking, they juxtaposed business on one side and society on the other, and they are bridging the gap.

I couldn't resist calling Dow and pointing something out to him (this is one of the advantages of my historical work). In the initial announcement of the College of Commerce, just announcing it as being established, I read: "The college should carry on investigations into all movements of trade, into transportation, communication, exchange, finance, banking and insurance, into markets, products, and prices, in short"--now, here's the wording that I think is interesting--"into all the conditions, legal, political, economical, and physical, upon which trade depends." so there were bridges right there already. Dow says, "I guess now we can go back to 1898." [laughter] Isn't it interesting?

Nathan: How good that you could pull that thread all the way through.

Grether: Well, it's interesting to see.

There were some very able people, by the way, who were involved in establishing the College of Commerce. I think that's why it was a very useful vehicle for quite a while.

Let's stop just a minute. The fields I won't discuss just now: for instance, the field of finance has been important. It's had its ups and downs. Now it's up again, and one of the stronger fields, both in student interest and in quality of the faculty.

The Role of Mathematics for Analysis

Grether: But in the background in all of this, over the entire period, was the nature of what you may call mathematical and quantitative tools of analysis. What should be taught?

What happened in the College of Commerce field was that a course was given called either mathematics of finance, or mathematics of investment. Incidentally, it was given in

the Mathematics Department, too. During the early period it was the thing for the disciplines to reach out and provide service work. Increasingly, the disciplines don't like this, and mathematics especially had a very heavy burden in this area. This required only usually what the students brought from their high schools--algebra, maybe college algebra, and plane geometry and plane trigonometry as a background. It was not a heavy mathematics requirement, but it seemed to be adequate for the period.

A good example, though, of the weakness was demonstrated in one appointment made at the end of the war, Paul W. McGann. Paul was a very bright young man, and he was teaching work in applied economics. We got information that the students didn't quite understand him; he was using too much mathematics. So I talked to Paul. He said, "Well, you can do much better work this way." I said, "But the students don't have the background" He insisted, "They should have." I agreed; that part was all right, but the point was they didn't have. So Paul left us; he wanted to do something different from what we were equipped to do.

Now, this is a very important issue. For instance, the Department of Economics now has a very heavy faculty component in mathematical economics. In fact, that's why they're housed over in Evans Hall. But they still do not have a requirement in mathematics for all students.

Nathan: Does this mean the undergraduates?

Grether: Both undergraduate and graduate. In terms of the problem of what to do, very early we gave at least elementary work and occasionally advanced work in statistics. But we had only this mathematics of finance, or mathematics of investment requirement in general for the students.

I think at this point it's well, maybe, to make a jump. Beginning in the 1950s, it was clear that something was happening in this country and in the world. All of a sudden the Russians put Sputnik into space. We were aware that we were lagging in terms of the kind of preparation our students should have. I had it in mind as dean and chairman in recruiting. This McGann episode had doubly emphasized it in my thinking.

Requiring Analytical Geometry and Calculus (1956)

Grether: I'm glad to report that we began probing this area, and finally it was in 1956 that we dropped the mathematics of finance requirement in favor of a course in analytical geometry and calculus as a requirement. Economics didn't do this. Many people thought this was just reckless; the students wouldn't take this mathematics, and we'd lose students. We may have lost some, but what's amazing, looking back upon this, is how well the students adjusted. They can learn mathematics, they can use mathematics, if they are required to.

There is a little personal incident here. (I may have told this before.) A year or two after, our son came into the school, and he was required to take this work. That's why he's an econometrician now. He liked this work, and happened to get a good teacher, a senior professor in the Department of Mathematics. After that, he was always taking work in mathematics and statistics in these departments, and it became a major thrust for him.

So we did this, and in this environment began building a faculty. Also, I might put in here that the graduate school was established in 1955. The Ph.D. program in business, separate from economics, was established in 1956. So the '50s were the culmination years of our long-range planning, at least during the period when I had anything to do with it as dean and chairman.

The Rise of Computers

Grether: In the background always here was something that we were observing and didn't quite grasp entirely, and that was the development of computerization. This was coming along. I might put a story here to illustrate how one can misinterpret this.

In the late '50s, IBM was looking around for a place to have a lab to serve the western area. The story I've heard, that may not be true, was that when this was presented at Stanford, the then Stanford dean of the School of Business, who was an accountant, went to the meeting for a while and

then left, saying, "I don't see that it should interest the School of Business." Well, a laboratory was then set up at UCLA. It was dedicated early in 1960. My guess is that it's probably obsolete now; it may not even be operating in terms of the type of equipment. Developments have been so extraordinarily rapid, they're almost breathtaking.

New Faculty Members

Grether: We were aware of this, and that we had to get ready for it, so we began looking around for faculty. Let me indicate just a few names of people who arrived who got to be important in this area. Fred Balderston arrived in 1953. Later on he spent a year, 1955-1956, at Carnegie, working with Herb Simon and others.

By the way, in the background of all this is the impact of this one man, Herbert A. Simon, who is the most recent Nobel Laureate in Economics. He could have gotten it in psychology or mathematics, or other areas, too, because of his extraordinary facility in a number of directions. At this time he was beginning to make a major impact in this whole area of organization administration and mathematical types of analysis.

John T. Wheeler arrived in 1955, Austin Hoggatt in '56. Now, Wheeler arrived in accounting, but he had a Ph.D. in industrial economics from MIT; and Hoggatt had done a simulation study for his Ph.D. thesis in mathematics at Minnesota. Tom Marschak in '59, and so on.

What we were looking for was someone who might be our Herb Simon. [laughter] Incidentally, eventually, a little later, we tried an experiment. We got two young men, Edward A. Feigenbaum and Julian Feldman, from Carnegie and put them together on our faculty. This indicates the heartbreaks: both men have left. Feldman went to the Irvine campus, and Feigenbaum went to Stanford. This is an important aspect of the story I'm about to tell--the people we didn't get or the people we lost.

The man we selected for leadership, finally, was C. West Churchman. His name came to my attention first in 1954 from a number of sources, but especially from Dickson Reck. Dick

unfortunately died early. He was a young man on our faculty. He had been an associate of Churchman at the University of Pennsylvania, where Churchman was in the Philosophy Department, and in fact was for a period chairman of the Philosophy Department.

At this time, Churchman was head of a new institute in the field of operations research at Case Western Reserve in Cleveland, Ohio. It may well be the first such institute in this country and in the world. It was a very innovative thing, and the stories are that the president had to practically force it into this faculty situation. This is always a problem when you do things that are highly innovative. I wish I had time to tell the whole story, but space and time are limited.

We became acquainted, and Churchman came out in 1956 for an interview. He conducted a colloquium. He came out in 1957-58 as a visiting professor on our faculty.

Nathan: Is this the usual pattern?

Grether: Very common. This is the sequence we prefer, especially the visiting professorship, to give us a chance to get better acquainted, and vice versa.

Center For Research in Management Science (1961)

Grether: In this case there was a string attached to it. We agreed with Churchman that we would study under his leadership the feasibility and desirability of establishing an organization of some sort in this area. In fact, that's what he insisted upon.

Nathan: It would be a center, or something of that nature?

Grether: That's right, to represent this particular emerging area of interest. After he arrived, I called a meeting of all the chairmen of social sciences who might be interested. We talked about it, and then a task force was set up, with Churchman as chairman, to study this area. This went on for weeks. Eventually, out of these discussions emerged a whole series of documents. My files are full of the revisions of the drafts.

I have document number four here in front of me, dated December 16, 1958, for example, which is from Churchman to a whole list of people in ten different departments who were interested and involved. It says that as a result of the discussions it was decided to recommend establishing an institute for research in the management sciences on this campus.

This became the basis for a very important and exciting development, which is really the thing that I want to try to interpret today. The first round took place under the auspices of the Institute of Industrial Relations, where a research unit was set up with an initial grant of, I think it was \$100,000 from the Ford Foundation. Then in 1961, after this preliminary experience, the Center for Research in Management Science was established on this campus as a center, under the aegis of the Graduate School of Business Administration.

Nathan: This is science, singular?

Grether: Yes.

The whole thrust was to serve the campus as a whole. In other words, the base in Business Administration would be merely a base for broad outreach for work in this field for anybody interested. Now, there was a problem that was here even during the discussion period. The engineers have work in operations research that is somewhat akin, so there was this problem. In fact, later on there were even some discussions on the part of the administration of merging these two, but it was decided not to do this.

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Grether: By the way, Harriet, just so the record is clear, Churchman was appointed to our faculty after he was here as a visitor.

Nathan: Did he come on as an associate professor?

Grether: No, professor, step three, as I recall.

Nathan: So this was high level--

Grether: Oh, yes, a high level appointment.

Also, I well recall how I had a call from the Office of the Budget Committee, saying they wanted a letter from Herbert Simon about this man. There is one in the file, and it's a very nice letter. I talked to Herbert Simon, and he wrote to Clark Kerr a "Dear Clark" letter.

Well, Churchman was here, the center was set up in May 1961, and Fred Balderston became the first director of the center.

Nathan: Could I go back just a moment? Perhaps I didn't get this quite clear, but in your early discussions with Churchman, did I understand that it had been indicated to him that a center would be established?

Grether: We would try it. I said, "We'll try it; we'll study it."

Nathan: But there was no agreement that he would direct it, just that he would be a professor dealing in this area?

Grether: That's right. He at various times has been acting director, in fact. Maybe part of the problem has been that this has shifted around quite a bit, but Balderston was the first director.

Pioneering Market Simulation

Grether: It's almost unbelievable when you see the state of the art now, compared to that time. I have in front of me here what's called Simulation of Market Processes, by Frederick E. Balderston and Austin C. Hoggatt, published by the Institute of Business and Economic Research in 1962. In back of this was at least three years of work, an enormous amount of input in human energy and in costs.

In this, Balderston and Hoggatt tried to simulate the actual market process in the lumber industry on the West Coast, where Balderston had considerable connection. They first did empirical work, so they developed the right pattern for their analysis, and then they put all of this into a computer. Once you get this into the computer, then you can make adjustments in the model in the computer; rather than going out in real life, you can just manipulate the conditions as stated in the model.

Now, the thing that's interesting here is that this was pioneering. I was, among others, doing the best I could to support this, because we realized it was an important pioneering study. Hoggatt told me the other day that he insisted that this Appendix C be added so people wouldn't go into this sort of thing too casually. At the end of it, he points out that the cost study of this volume was \$95,000. That is in terms of professional time, times of a research associate, computer time. Computer time was very expensive during that period, and I think, among others, they used not only a local computer but the Western Data Processing Center at UCLA; I think they were helpful to them.

In other words, with the kind of equipment you had then, and with the kind of knowledge, this was truly a pioneering study. It made quite a reputation in these terms. My guess is that nowadays this could be done with one man and an assistant, with maybe a tenth of this. I'm not sure about this, but there have been such tremendous advances in computer technology.

The Center's Ford Foundation Research Grant (1963-1969)

Grether: To continue our story with the center, it had an enormous break in 1963, because the Ford Foundation came along with a grant of \$600,000 for a five-year period, later extended to six years. Four hundred thousand dollars was to be used for research, and \$200,000 used to run workshops in various subject matter areas in Berkeley. This beautiful blue-bound report here, dated June 1970, is the report on the results of this Ford Foundation research grant for the period 1963-1969.

This is really to me a very thrilling document, when you see the variety of things and the variety of persons from all over the world who became involved here. For example, turning this page, I see the name Foraker. Foraker, who spent the year 1964-65 here, later became the dean of the Harvard Business School, and still is. He was working in this program here. I see the name Jacob Marschak (the father of Tom Marschak, who is on our faculty), who deceased about a year ago. Professor [Gerard] Debreu of Economics [1983 Nobel Laureate], and so on down. A young man named

Friedman from Yale was using this facility. People from various disciplines in this country and abroad, as well as our local faculty, made use of this facility and were supported as needed, and this is the report on the various fields.

These fields are analyzed and classified in eight different areas; I'll just read them. First was Models of Resource Allocation in an Economy. Second, Empirical and Theoretical Studies of Firms, Industries, or Sectors of an Economy. Third, Problems of Optimal Individual Decisions. Fourth, Theoretical Studies of Conflict, The Theory of Games and Theories of Bargain Behavior. (By the way, John Harsanyi was one of the great figures in the field of game theory that had evolved here on our faculty.) Next, Behavioral Non-Experimental Studies of Organizations.

Then, Experimental Studies, including Business Games. You've got to remember that early period when they were doing experimental work with business games. Before we had our own computer access, it was done up here on the hill. [Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, the Rad Lab.] I went up with a group. Edward Teller was chairman of the Computer Committee, and I was on it. We were asked to go up there, and John Wheeler ran a business game. Teller didn't do too well, and he didn't like to be second in playing this game. This had been a valuable teaching aid.

Then, finally, Computer Research.

Management Science Laboratory (1964)

Grether: Then there's the usual list of publications, and it in a sense represents the peak from this standpoint. But this was not all, because the next development was the establishment of the Management Science Laboratory in 1964, completed on May 15, 1965.

The physical aspect is important here. I mentioned that the first research group was housed in the Institute of Industrial Relations. The center was housed first in the old Stephens Union Building, in the ticket office. There was a vault underneath where the tickets had been stored, where they could keep their secret documents, if they had any (I don't know whether they had any or not). Then the

new development was over here in the basement of Barrows Hall.

Fortunately, Barrows Hall construction costs were not as high as estimated. It was one of those unusual things that doesn't happen any more, I'm sure. There was some slack, and out of that slack we got the Lipman Room at the top, plus private money, and we got some of the work done in providing for this laboratory which happened to come along just in time to make some adjustments so we could use some of that. Plus the fact that seems almost unbelievable: over a period of about five years, the National Science Foundation provided about \$1,200,000 for equipment and other costs in this laboratory. This was to be a laboratory for research in individual and group behavior.

I have with me considerable documentation prepared by Fred Balderston and Austin Hoggatt and others about what was planned and what took place here. Here, for instance, is Balderston's statement: "New power to understand the decision maker: The Management and Behavioral Sciences Laboratory. The Management and Behavioral Sciences Laboratory, located in the basement of Barrows Hall at UC Berkeley, provides a unique, computer-supported, controlled environment for research and instruction on group communication and decisionmaking," and so on.

[continues reading] "Faculty members and students of business administration, economics, computer science, sociology, education, and other fields have used the special capabilities of the laboratory for both research and instructional purposes, and the laboratory has attracted research scholars from a number of other universities in the United States and abroad." In other words, the momentum of the center now was accentuated, and in a sense focused, by the addition of this very important laboratory equipment. Here it says, for example, "New insight into human and organizational behavior is the prime mission of the laboratory."

It talks about the series of publications. So much of this work is slow. Austin Hoggatt told me the other day that the volume on behavior under oligopoly, on which he and Professor Friedman of Yale have been working for years, is just now coming off. They've been carrying on laboratory experiments in this on small group behavior. Some of this began in the '60s. He said there was a time, about '64 and

'65, when the students who were being used as subjects couldn't even find the laboratory, their eyes were so full of tear gas. This literally happened in terms of the disruptions of the '60s into normal affairs here.

Now, I'm not qualified to tell the whole story of what went on here. I've had people prepare materials for me, and they are in front of me. The sad thing about all of this is that it appears that the momentum and the promise that seemed to be here, at least for the time being seems to have been lost. It raises a very interesting question. In the background are a lot of things; let's go back just a bit.

One of the things in the background here is the work in schools of business, and on the part of organizations, too, in the field of industrial management and production, where we have always had a problem. You recall that we had a session on Texas. The dean at Texas at one time had been a factory manager--plant superintendent--for General Motors, and that left an imprint upon what they did there for quite a period. Around the country there's some of this, where you tried to give relatively practical work based upon what goes on inside of factories. You might reach back into the original Taylor scientific management movement and time and motion studies. Now, some of that's given on the campus, as far as we need it, by engineering, so this doesn't seem to be an area of high need. For a period we gave work in the area called production.

Then there was the whole area of organizational behavior, which Herbert Simon represented. In fact, his early work and his thinking were basic in all the places that are trying to find the way here. Then there were always the problems of the relationships with group psychology and with sociology. On this campus, during this period, we had a lot of strength in the Psychology Department. Mason Haire, Lyman Porter, Edwin Ghiselli--we had a strong group of people. We could relate to these people, and there was continuing interaction. Well, they're all gone; there's almost nothing left of this sort over there. In a sense it's part and parcel of the problem I'm trying to understand.

We had studies made in our faculty. Professor Moonitz chaired a committee and struggled for a couple of years. The problem there was, "What do they do in this area that has come to be called organization theory?" Our faculty had

trouble making up its mind. The title "Management Science" in a sense reflects the umbrella under which a lot of this thinking came to be lodged. There was also a Journal of Management Science, and Churchman was the first editor of that journal. He had the background in this field. So everything looked very bright and shining.

By the way, I've often said that I consider Churchman my big risk capital investment--to bring a philosopher into a faculty. It's been very interesting to watch the reaction and interaction over the years. From my standpoint, he's been a very useful person and has quite a loyal clientele. There are people who do not wish this type of instruction; but he has a strong clientele, some of it in the School of Public Health, as well as on our own faculty.

Now, I just want to sit here and think with you a bit. What is it that led to the development of this kind of enterprise and, more recently, to its relative decline? There are some pessimists who think this is the end of this, that perhaps even the center and laboratory might be closed down. The center is still operating [1978], but there are discussions going on, I understand, as to what should be the next step.

Group Interdisciplinary Efforts: Some Long-term Problems

Grether: For one thing, it's very difficult, except for brief periods, to hold group interdisciplinary efforts at a high pitch, especially in a situation as in Berkeley, where the reward system tends to reward people for individual productivity and not for participation in a group effort. There is a strong presumption that a group that gets together because it is excited about something, and is held together partly by the excitement under the conditions of the time, might tend to disintegrate at some point.

Nathan: That's interesting.

Grether: Well, let's take the University on the hill, the Rad Lab. I well recall as a young man around here the excitement of those pioneers before they had all this equipment. They had the excitement of being on the frontier of this whole nuclear development. They didn't have much money, but they

were a group of people who were excited and dedicated. That was the fun of it. Since then there have been enormous developments, but they are held together by putting in enormous resources and hiring people. You can hire teams of people. All over the country there are private labs that do this, operated by corporations, or labs like the Stanford Research Institute. One can, with resources and a reward system, get groups of people together. In a University environment, especially with limited resources, it's asking a great deal.

But there's a further factor. We're just reflecting, and I want to see if this makes sense to you. In our environment there's almost an inherent force tending to disintegrate such units. Why? Because if they make good-- and these are strong people--they will be under pressure either to leave to a better job or to take short-term leaves for special purposes. This happened to this group. I mentioned Feigenbaum and Feldman, who came in later on; they were hired away from us. Other people, whose names I could mention, participated in this group.

Another thing is that practically every member of this group asked for and received leaves for longer and shorter periods to take special assignments. Fred Balderston first became savings and loan commissioner. He'd hardly gotten back from that before he became vice president in charge of educational planning at the statewide level of the University system. Austin Hoggatt became director of the Computer Laboratory for a period. Dick Holton, who was active to some extent, went to Washington and became assistant secretary of commerce. Wes Churchman for a year or two at least was director of research for the Systems Development Company in Los Angeles, and eventually went up to the Space Sciences Laboratory on this campus. You can go right down the line, and the group was cut to pieces. Then when they'd come back, apparently the old esprit de corps was lost. It may be a matter of age, but whatever it is, it was lost.

In addition, there was a further factor, possibly. It is alleged that the University did not fulfill its commitment made to the National Science Foundation; that it was supposed to maintain a level of support here for this laboratory, and that it didn't do that. So you had people moving in and out and then coming back. You'd think coming back with more maturity, they'd be stronger, but actually it

didn't seem to work that way. There were people coming in and resources not being maintained. Finally, you get into the Reagan and Brown administrations, and this becomes much more serious, relatively, because of the lack of support by the University.

Nathan: Would it take a strong continuing chairman to fight for University commitment of funds?

Grether: That would be a factor.

Now, for some reason Balderston is dropping out and becoming associate dean, and they're just under a temporary director. Does this mean that his interest has changed? I don't know.

Nathan: Did the Ford Foundation money also disappear along the way? It was only for six years?

Grether: Yes, it was for five, and then six years. It was all used up. I didn't mention these workshops, but it's listed here [in the outline]. They were very interesting. They brought people here from all over the country and the world, again during summer workshop periods.

They did a number of things. They helped to extend knowledge. The Ford Foundation's interested in two things. The Ford Foundation wanted to strengthen the area of quantitative analysis and of behavioral analysis, and these workshops were part of that program. Also, from Berkeley's standpoint, they brought people from all over the country and the world to us. They helped build our base. Therefore it's especially sad from this standpoint to see the decline in this situation.

It's possible that there are things here that are important, that I'm not getting. For example, there may have been too much influence on the part of a single person. Sometimes this can happen, that he doesn't succeed in getting the cooperation. But I think anything of that sort would be relatively minor. Very likely the original enthusiasm was gone, and with resources dropping, there was no basis for maintaining the kind of momentum that one had here to begin with.

Interest in Industrial Relations and Organizational Behavior

Nathan: Do you feel there is any element such as competitive pressure from other, new ideas that are emerging that would claim more resources?

Grether: Yes, I'm glad you asked that; you'd almost think I'd coached you to ask that question. Let's jump ahead. I'd planned to get into that, but let's do it now. This is the way I like to lecture in a class, too, in reaction to questions.

In the meantime, this has been happening. For example, we have on the Berkeley campus now what's called the OBIR group--Organizational Behavior, Industrial Relations. I just read last night in the Journal of Industrial Relations an interesting article by George Strauss and Peter Fuille, called "IR Research: A Critical Analysis," in which they suggest there may be some revival of interest in what is the relatively traditional industrial relations area. This industrial relations field which we discussed peaked and began declining, and now there's some indication of revival.

But in the meantime, this group came along called "organizational behavior." In the verbiage of the faculty, as I've been putting my ear to the ground, I hear what's called hard and soft types of people. The hard type of people are those who tend to be more quantitative, more formal, and more abstract with formal model building. The soft people are really the people who are more empirical, but don't need such elaborate research equipment because they're dealing with real problems that are definable and clear.

A group has emerged in the department which I think I mentioned when we talked about industrial relations. Now again there are several people from our faculty who are working in the Institute of Industrial Relations. This is the group. They are working with this organizational behavioral area. This to some extent runs throughout our entire program, this behavioral type of thrust.

Nathan: This would be soft?

Grether: This would be the so-called soft, as opposed to the hard. Although that dichotomy is kind of silly, it does represent something. To some people, it's very important because you

don't have to be a high-powered mathematical economist. All of them use the computer, by the way. Things are so advanced there that I discovered that my granddaughter on the campus recently wrote her term paper on the computer. She's got a friend who is an expert in this [laughter]--and she's only a junior on this campus. We have computer terminals in the building, and a course is required in computer programming. This is of the essence in both instruction and research.

I think it becomes a matter of whether you're a formal model builder or whether you are more empirically oriented, but it's not quite that simple. Anyway, you've got a young group now emerging with lots of drive. It's almost a repetition of what I suggested. They're excited, they're working together, they're writing lots of papers, and they're kind of running off with the student interest, to some extent, and with some of the research money. They don't need as much research money, you see, as you need in this other type of effort.

The field of marketing is chock full of this sort of thing also--behavioral type of analysis. In fact, you've got really two groups in marketing: the people who were trained in psychology and sometimes in sociology, and the people trained in economics. To some extent they can't talk to each other. [laughter] This is basic throughout the entire situation.

So it might be that this OBIR group will run its course. For a few years they'll be very excited working together. There is one young woman in this group, Karlene Roberts, and a couple of young fellows: Freeman, down the hall from me, who came up from the Riverside campus and who is trained, I think, in sociology. Jeff Pfeffer is another young man, and others. I don't know the whole group entirely. Ray Miles, for example, came up from Texas. They work also with George Strauss, who is a more senior man over in the Institute of Industrial Relations.

Adjusting to a Changing Environment##

Nathan: As we were talking about the rise and fall of some of these very interesting institutes and centers, do you think there is a possibility of some of them coming back or reviving?

Grether: I think so. I mentioned this article by Strauss, suggesting it in the field of industrial relations. It appears (he's not certain) that there may be some revival of interest in some of the things that were done more traditionally. Of course, one of the problems is that scholars are working in a very rapidly changing environment. Take this industrial relations area; labor organizations today are not the same as they were 30 or 40 years ago. Therefore I'd like to stress that the legal, political, and social environmental groups are relating to the changing environment. This is a very difficult problem.

People in the field, of course, can make adjustments. This has been what we've tried to do in the school over the years in this area. For example, I mentioned the field of production. We still give courses that carry the label "production" or "production organization for facilities planning." We have work of this sort being given in the school. Here's a course: [reads] "Production Programming: Facilities, Planning and Production Control Analysis for Production Management." And one for planning models.

There is a continuing problem of adjustment of something traditional to this new computerization environment, where planning can be done on a much different level and where, I suppose, some of the theoretical work that's been done, perhaps even years ago, begins to have some validity in terms of application in these fields. I doubt if one will ever have a return, in a full sense, but a facility ought to be possible to adjust. This kind of thinking must be going on now in the top administration of the school: What do you do with this facility, with this background?

Nathan: Or how can it be made more responsive to the newer?

Grether: Yes, I imagine that is the thinking that's going on. I'm not involved in it in any detail, but I hear it discussed around the edges.



Roderic B. Park, Raymond E. Miles, Ewald T. Grether, Carrie M. Grether.

Photograph by Bruce K. Cook
Courtesy Haas School of Business

You see--I'll get these two books here. These are two studies of American business, both published in 1959, both financed by the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation, to which I have referred. In the 1950s there was a tremendous rethinking going on, as I mentioned, and these volumes represent this. Something comparable, I think, is going on again now, and one can't be sure of the outcome.

Another thing that I think is very important here is that right from the start in the College of Commerce and in our thinking, we thought of ourselves as participating broadly in the University community, both as receivers using the resources elsewhere and by making our own contribution. It seems to me there may be, perhaps partly because of the complexity of these relations, a certain tendency to isolate a bit more. The degree of interaction is not quite the same, or doesn't have the same pattern. I'm not sure of this, but--

Nathan: Sort of to build your own battlements?

Grether: Yes, that's right. To establish yourself more firmly, because the complexity of these relationships is very difficult. That is, scholars in almost any field can invade each other's fields, and they do.

Nathan: But why not?

Grether: Yes, why not? They do it with their own tools and their own interests, and the result is that you get maybe ten or fifteen different people from different backgrounds coming into the same problem area.

Nathan: One still likes the idea of a community of scholars, whether or not it actually works that way?

Grether: The problem is, what is the character of this community? I notice in looking through my papers--I found one the other day in a reply to somebody's letter, one of these early appointees--that someone raised a question, "How do you know how to make appointments?" I said, "Well, I always keep in mind whether he belongs in a community of scholars, and especially the one we have in Berkeley, which is a very complex set of relationships where the review procedure is very stringent."

You're caught, in our situation, by a stringent review procedure that tends to focus upon individual productivity. If the environment is rich and complex, you want interaction. I think the professional schools are attempting to try to protect themselves a bit. I don't know about your term, "put up the ramparts," but there's a certain tendency maybe to try to define your area and get the rewards system related to that area a little more sharply perhaps than at some times in the past.

Just to illustrate the problems here, for years we had what was called administration and policy as a field of specialization or emphasis within our school, both at the undergraduate and the graduate level. What was this? This was an attempt out of this welter of things to carve out an area that would serve the interests of people who don't want to specialize functionally, who don't want to be accountants or marketing people or whatnot. Also, it was an area where at least everybody should have a little work, because they ought to understand the general nature of administration and policymaking in the business enterprise.

I asked John Wheeler about this a day or two ago. By the way, John Wheeler is a man who has always interested me. He came here in the field of accounting, but I like him especially because he had a strong interest in working across lines. He would do an integrated type of analysis. For years he taught work in organization theory for us, very successfully from my point of view. He did a very careful job. Also, he made a follow-up study for the Ford Foundation of some work done here to see what's going on in the business, because he's got excellent background.

John was a leader in this field of administration and policy. His judgment was that it tended to pick up people who didn't know what else to do with themselves, who were not necessarily highly motivated. This tended to give the field a reputation of having some of the students with lower motivation. They did pick up some very good people who had a strong interest, but they were a minority in the group. Because of this, it didn't quite get recognition. Now adjustments have taken place, and this field no longer is listed as a field in just this particular way. But the problem remains; that is, how do you relate the business enterprise and its organization and policy decisionmaking to the rest of the work done in the functional fields? It's much easier to teach in the functional fields, relatively.

Yet the functional field, when you get it inside the enterprise, shouldn't be looked at separately, because it is part of the totality of what goes on within the enterprise.

We had that focused very sharply years ago by Len Doyle and Wheeler and others, to give an integrated course instead of breaking up in the functional fields for the entering graduate students. They brought all these together in one year's course where they didn't break them up, functionally speaking. As far as I can tell, it was successful from the standpoint of the students, but it's almost impossible to get teachers with that kind of breadth. You tend not to be as productive, also, if you give your time to this type of instruction.

Well, that is, I think, the story so far as this field is concerned. I myself am very interested to see what the outcome will be in terms of our own situation here. These have been excellent people. Most of them are still here. We've lost, unfortunately, some very good people. Good young men are coming in, but not at the rate as in the past because of financial stringency. We're not being entirely as competitive as we should be.

Institute of Business and Economic Research

Grether: Before we break up, I think I'd like to talk a bit about the Institute of Business and Economic Research as a different type of vehicle entirely. You may recall that when I was appointed dean, the first thing that happened in the first year was the establishment of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research. Before that there had been a committee in this field. Frank Kidner became the first director of that. Later on, the title was changed to Institute of Business and Economic Research, to give it, I guess, a little more dignity. I may have put this into the record. I asked President Sproul one time how you distinguish between centers and bureaus and institutes. He said, "You tell me." [laughter]

Nathan: That's a good story.

Grether: In any event, we changed from bureau to institute. It represents two departments, both business and economics.

This institute is still here. It has performed nobly over the years. Why? Partly because it's had good leadership. For years, Joe Garbarino of our faculty has been the director. He and his staff, I think, do a thoroughly good job of providing facilities and service to aid faculty members in their research, including the top of the Ph.D. candidates. In other words, it's a facilitating organization; it does not have programs of its own.

Therefore it's an ideal instrument for our type of environment for people who are doing their own thing, to get facilities where they can work or to get a graduate assistant, or to get some little research money or larger amounts of research money. People who succeed in getting grants will tend to bring them to the institute and have the project housed there and get it handled through the institute. This has been a very successful enterprise, in contrast with the conditions we have described in other areas where you've had rise, excitement, and then a decline. There, you've had a rather steady, maintained situation. The amount of money goes up and down with the kinds of grants people get or the amount of support they get from the state, but it has remained a good solid member, and also still represents the two departments. Projects can come in from a broader orientation, and they do, but it is one way to keep the Economics and Business departments working together. Actually, we've had the directorship in recent times because of Joe Garbarino's continuation on this spot.

By the way, I might say a word about Garbarino. One of his assets is his delightful sense of humor, which occasionally appears even in his reports. This, I think, is an important factor in the relative success of this enterprise.

Do you have any questions? I'm just about exhausted. My voice--

Nathan: You've given us a very rich look at these topics. I don't know if there's anything more with respect to industrial production and industrial management you wanted to say? Or does that pretty much cover it?

Grether: We give some work, but it's to some extent residual. There are people here in that area, and they're doing it. The newer people coming into the area tend to have a somewhat different approach. They're adjusting to environment.

One of the things that happened here was that as California industrialized, we felt we should provide work to reflect this shift in our own environment, which we did to some extent. There is an increasing tendency for service types of employment to appear, and the title "Operations and Facilities Management" can apply to them as well as to a factory.

- Nathan: Does this follow from what some people see as California's development as an advanced industrial society, perhaps not going in so much for industry as what you suggest?
- Grether: This is true in general, I think, for this country as a whole, but it probably will be relatively more true of California. We were highly urbanized; then, partly because of the war impact and war needs, we were thrust into modern industrialism, aided by the presence of petroleum, which was a cheap energy source for a while. Then we moved rather rapidly. Now our thrust seems to be away from heavy industry and in these other directions. To some extent this is true of this country as a whole and, in a sense, of the world as a whole, although I don't think we're in the so-called post-industrial society. No doubt the movement is in that direction.
- Nathan: From what you suggest, then, this organizational behavior in industrial relations is in a sense reflecting just what you're describing?
- Grether: Yes, but it also reflects still the basic importance of organized labor and labor relations. They're both involved here. But it's a broader thrust now. The original work was tied pretty closely to collective bargaining and to organized labor. This now places it in a broader framework of analysis, so far as I understand it. It's very difficult for someone like myself, outside, to look at a field and be sure. That is, when I was dean I felt a little more competent because I would meet with all of the people, and part of my job was to keep up, more or less.
- Nathan: It's remarkable to me how current you manage to be, even though your responsibilities have changed.
- Grether: I think you shouldn't overdo that. I may not be nearly as current as you think. [laughter] I like to think I am. That's part of the fun of it--being updated, so to speak.

I'm continually impressed, though, by the variety of refinements that are being introduced in almost any discipline or subdiscipline.

By the way, I had a good example this past week. I picked up this article by Lawrence Shepard and wrote him a note about it. It's "Toward a Framework for Consumer Policy Analysis." He points out the various areas of what he calls subdisciplines interested in consumer policy analysis. He comes up with nine areas. I think this is very interesting. He makes a distinction between multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary. Most of this is multidisciplinary. People start in a problem area, and then they discover other people from other disciplines. You very rarely get interdisciplinary work, which is much more difficult and certainly has been a problem in what we've been talking about here.

I couldn't resist writing to Lawr (by the way, he's the son of Bill Shepard, who is a member of the campus here, and he's a very bright young man). I pointed out that actually these lines are not as sharp as they appear to be. That is, people may be closeted like this, but they don't confine themselves like this in their actual work. Therefore there is a lot more flexibility and a lot more overlapping than appears. To some extent there's more interdisciplinary work than appears, but it tends to come through individuals as they reach out.

Nathan: Not structurally--

Grether: That's right. You must have that in your work over in the Institute of Governmental Studies, where it's a continuing problem. But this is very helpful to have him work out a classification of this sort.

I think that's all, as far as I'm concerned, for today.

Nathan: This is really very rich. Thank you. We'll close right now.

XXVI EVENTS: MONTANA WATER LAW, AND CAMPUS CELEBRATIONS

[Interview 22: November 30, 1979]###

Grether: Good morning. It's been almost a year since we talked last.

Nathan: Right. Well, it's good to be back on the recording session again. There's a lot that's happened since we last talked.

Grether: Yes. I would like to refer to a number of things, because it's been a very exciting year. In the first place, since water--either flood or irrigation or for city use or whatever--has been very important in all of our discussions, I think I should mention it.

New Filings for Water Rights

Grether: The State of Montana has a new water law, and this is going to force us into a lot of work we didn't expect to do, because under the new water law one must file on all one's water rights and give the history, the background, and the character of the use and so on. That's for the entire state, and they set up a special division. I talked to one of the young men in the office in Missoula; I think he was about twenty-eight years old. He said he thinks he'll retire before they get all of this settled. [laughter] Can you imagine anything as complicated as this? Water rights are very complicated.

Nathan: Are they as complicated in Montana as they are in California?

Grether: Oh, I assume so.

Nathan: Pueblo rights and riparian rights and the whole thing?

Grether: Oh, certainly. Oh, yes. Now, in our case, we thought we were on easy street because our rights had been adjudicated in the courts; they're so-called decreed rights. But apparently they're going to start over again. One reason is that the Indians are getting very restive. They're beginning to assert themselves about their rights or what they've lost, and the federal government seems to be rather sympathetic to some of the Indian claims.

Then there are also many other factors. I won't go into them now, but we have received some forms to fill out that are going to take us days, really, to work on, because you've got to go back to the very beginnings. For instance, in our case all this area that my wife inherited was homesteaded at one time--little plots, you see. You go back to that, when they first filed, and bring it on down to the present.

Nathan: Unbelievable.

Grether: Yes.

Triple Eightieth Birthday

Grether: But turning to more interesting things, last year something very nice happened. The school celebrated its eightieth anniversary, which happens to coincide with the eightieth birthday of myself and my wife. [chuckles] So the two were put together, and I thought it was something really very pleasant indeed. Now, so far as we were concerned, there was a big celebration on my birthday, almost. My birthday is actually the 27th; it was on the 29th and 30th of March. There was an international conference, former students and scholars who came to Berkeley for a very nice set of meetings, which will be published in the proceedings volume.

CONFERENCE ON MARKETING AND PUBLIC POLICY
IN HONOR OF E. T. GRETHER

March 29 and 30, 1979

School of Business Administration
University of California
Berkeley

On the occasion of his eightieth birthday

SCHEDULE

Unless noted, all sessions are in the Lipman Room, 8th Floor, Barrows Hall.

Thursday, March 29 Chair: Professor Frederick E. Balderston, Berkeley Business School

1:30 p.m.	Greetings	Dean Earl F. Cheit School of Business, Berkeley
2:00	The Experience Curve Effect: Implications for Public Policy	Professor Donald N. Thompson Faculty of Administrative Studies York University
	Discussant	Dean Lawrence A. Fouraker Harvard Business School
3:00	Break	
3:15	Public Regulation of Consumer Information: The Life Insurance Industry Case	Professor Richard H. Holton School of Business, Berkeley
	Discussant	Dr. Mark S. Massel, Economist Washington, D. C.
4:15	On the "Unresponsiveness" of Market Prices	Professor John C. Narver School of Business Administration University of Washington
	Discussant	Professor Emeritus David A. Revzan School of Business, Berkeley
5:15	Break	
5:30	Reception	
7:15	Banquet Master of Ceremonies Faculty Club	Dr. Clark Kerr University of California, Berkeley and Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education
	Speaker	Professor Donald Turner School of Law Harvard University

Friday, March 30

Chair: Professor James M. Carman, Berkeley Business School

8:30 a.m.	The Marketing Channel: A Concept Whose Time Has Come?	Professor Emeritus Reavis Cox Wharton School University of Pennsylvania
	Discussant	Professor L. Peter Bucklin School of Business, Berkeley
9:30	Predatory Marketing	Professor Lee E. Preston School of Management SUNY, Buffalo
	Discussant	Professor David Grether Department of Economics California Institute of Technology
10:30	Break	
10:45	The Predatory Pricing Controversy: Law and Economics in the Marketplace	Professor Almarin Phillips Department of Economics University of Pennsylvania
	Discussant	Professor Roland Artle School of Business, Berkeley
11:45	Consumer Information Systems of the Future	Professor Hans B. Thorelli School of Business Indiana University
	Discussant	Ms. Mary Gardiner Jones Vice President, Western Union, Inc.
12:45	Break	
1:00 p.m.	Lunch Faculty Club	

2:15 p.m.	Concurrent Session	
	<u>Room 20 Barrows Hall</u>	
	Spatial Analysis and Marketing Theory: The Contributions of E. T. Grether	Professor Ronald Savitt School of Business Administration University of Alberta
	<u>Room 110 Barrows Hall</u>	
	Policy Implications of Marketing News Reporting	Dr. Kirby S. Moulton Agricultural Extension Service, Berkeley
3:30	Panel: Future Prospects for Marketing and Public Policy	Professor E. T. Grether School of Business, Berkeley
	Chair: Professor Francesco M. Nicosia, Berkeley Business School	Professor David L. Huff School of Business Administration University of Texas, Austin
		Dr. Reed Moyer School of Business, Berkeley
		Professor Lawrence Sullivan School of Law, Berkeley
5:00	Adjournment	

Oakland Tribune
March 25, 1979

by Harry A. Arnold
Staff Writer

From Washington and the boardrooms of New York, from the Wharton School and Harvard Law School, from campuses in Alberta and Texas and Indiana and half a dozen other places—they're coming to honor E.T. Grether, dean emeritus of the UC Berkeley Schools of Business Administration.

The dean and 25 of his former students and colleagues will take part Thursday and Friday in an academic conference on marketing and public policy.

A Thursday evening reception and banquet, by invitation only, follows Grether's 80th birthday by two days.

Master of ceremonies will be Dr. Clark Kerr, originally brought to the Berkeley campus by Grether, and who later rose to head the entire UC system. Kerr now is chairman of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education.

Banquet speaker will be Prof. Donald Turner of Harvard's school of law, a former Assistant U.S. Attorney General in charge of antitrust matters.

Among the other conference participants are two deans, a professor emeritus and 15 full professors, including Grether's son, David Grether, from the department of economics at California Institute of Technology.

On a long list of reception guests are former students who became corporate executives and have since retired, while "Grether," as he is affectionately known, has gone on about his duties in a Barrows Hall office.

The senior Grether was a student in the old UC College of Commerce and received his Ph.D. from Berkeley in 1924, starting his teaching assignments there in 1922.

As far back as 1936, students acclaimed him as the most popular professor of economics at

Berkeley, and that's when he was acting dean of the College of Commerce.

Three years later he attained a full professorship in economics, and was much sought after to speak to local and state chambers of commerce, area service clubs and seminars elsewhere.

In 1941, he was named dean of the College of Commerce and began what he calls his proudest years in reorganizing it into the Schools of Business Administration, undergraduate and graduate, with full research facilities.

In 1945 he was granted a leave to study the post-war California steel market.

In 1948 he was appointed as an economic consultant to the National Security Resources Board, and later that year another leave was granted for him to continue an assignment as director of that agency's Office of Economic Management.

In 1949, then-Gov. Warren appointed Grether first to plan and then to head a conference to cut the state's unemployment.

In 1950, he won an honorary LL.D. from his alma mater, the University of Nebraska.

In 1952, he was named to the additional duties of director of the UC Institute of Industrial Relations, a post relinquished by Dr. Kerr when he was named chancellor of the Berkeley campus.

In 1961, Grether asked to be relieved of his administrative duties so that he could go on a Ford Foundation fellowship to research economic and legal aspects of antitrust laws.

By 1966, he was head of the Academic Council which spoke for the faculties of all nine UC campuses at that time.

He retired from the Berkeley faculty that same year, and was awarded an honorary doctor's degree by UC Berkeley the next year.

"Alumnus of the Year" honors were accorded him in 1974 by the Cal Business Alumni.

Besides their son David, Dean and Mrs. Grether have two married daughters residing in Sacramento, 10 grandchildren and one great-grandson. Many of them will be at the conference honoring him.

Scholarly papers were especially written for presentation and criticism at the conference.

Coming from Washington, D.C., will be Dr. Mark S. Massel, retired Brookings Institute economist and antitrust expert, and coming from New York will be Mary Gardiner Jones, a Western Union vice president and former Federal Trade Commission member.

Listed by campus, out-of-town participants include:

Harvard business school Dean Lawrence A. Fouraker.

Indiana University school of business Prof. Hans B. Thorelli.

State University of New York school of management Prof. Lee E. Preston.

University of Alberta school of business administration Prof. Ronald Savitt.

University of Pennsylvania Wharton Prof. Emeritus Reavis Cox, and department of economics Prof. Almarin Phillips.

University of Texas school of business administration Prof. David L. Huff.

University of Washington school of business administration Prof. John C. Narver.

York University faculty of administrative studies Prof. Donald L. Thompson.

From the Berkeley business schools, participants include Dean Earl F. Chelt, Prof. David A. Revzan, and Professors Roland Frederick E. Balderston, L. Peter Bucklin, M. Carman, Richard H. Holton, Francis Nicosia, and Dr. Reed Moyer.

Other Berkeley panelists are law school Prof. Lawrence Sullivan, and Dr. Kirby S. Moore of the Agricultural Extension Service.

Coordinating the conference is Richard Grether of the business schools.

"I could tell a story about every one of them," said Grether.

We were very pleased with this and the other aspects of the whole series of events. For example, it gave us an opportunity to have some of these friends from other parts of the country and the world come to our home again and see them, people we hadn't seen for years in some instances. Then one of the nice things about it was that I was very happy because they invited our son to be a discussant in the program; he has a paper in the proceedings volume. We were very pleased with this. There was a nice dinner meeting with Clark Kerr as chairman.

Alumni Conference and Banquet

Grether: Then, later in the spring, they used the annual alumni conference to continue the celebration. It took a number of forms. One was a daytime set of meetings in which they had speakers from business, and again Clark Kerr and so on. In the evening there was an enormously big banquet down at Goodman's in Oakland, one of the biggest things I've ever seen, where I was the so-called keynote speaker, talking about the history and background of our program.

There were a couple of really very nice touches there. One was that Jim Flood and his wife were present. He is the nephew of Cora Jane Flood, whose foundation led to establishing the College of Commerce in 1898, you see. So it was a very nice touch to have the nephew present there.

And another pleasant touch--you see this photograph here? [shows interviewer photograph with himself and a young woman]

Nathan: What a handsome blade, indeed.

Grether: [laughter] She's a very pretty little girl, too. Well, that was taken back in 1936; this is dated April 22, '36. I was acting dean of the College of Commerce then, and I had been voted the most popular faculty member or something like that, a very pleasant lot of monkey business, and I was given the first dance with the girl who was voted the most popular coed or something, you see, in the school.

Nathan: I see, yes.

Grether: This is Marie Philips. [indicates girl in photograph] This picture was taken out in front of the Student Union, not on the dance floor, by the way. What they did was to invite her (she is now Mrs. Joseph Edward Smith, the wife of a lawyer in Oakland who at one time was mayor of Oakland) to come again, and we brought out the gold derby that was awarded at that banquet at that time.

Nathan: Of course.

Grether: Isn't that cute?

Nathan: As a matter of fact, you've both kept your looks; not bad.

Grether: Well, she did better than I did, I think. But isn't that cute?

Nathan: That's delightful.

Grether: Well, the whole evening was very pleasant. Fred Morrissey handled it, as associate dean of the school. A very light touch, and pleasant. People still stop me and say how much they enjoyed that evening.

The E. T. Grether Chair

Grether: One of the nicest things of all, though, was the establishment of the E. T. Grether Chair, a professorship in marketing and public policy, which was announced at the March 29th dinner meeting. I feel indeed grateful to Dean Cheit and others of my colleagues here for taking this initiative.

Nathan: In the establishment of such a chair, how does that work?

Grether: Well, you have to have a fund to begin with, and Walter Haas, I understand, provided \$100,000 to initiate this. Cheit remarked, which I think is true, how most people want their own names on something that they give money for. [laughter] It was very nice, Walter Haas' initiating this. I think at that time there were two other contributions, one



RECEPTION and PROGRAM

IN HONOR OF DEAN EMERITUS E. T. GRETHER

MARCH 27, 1981

SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 82nd BIRTHDAY

4:00 to 6:00 p.m.
GREAT HALL, FACULTY CLUB

Ewald Theophilus Grether is an Ohioan by birth (on March 27, 1899), a Nebraskan by early education, and a Californian by long habit and enthusiasm. He and Carrie MacIay married in 1925, having been fellow students in the doctoral program in economics at Berkeley. Their one-year detour to the University of Nebraska, where he served as Assistant Professor in 1925-26, was succeeded by the active and committed career here at Berkeley that we celebrate today.

E. T. Grether has won international recognition for his contributions to the concepts and literature of marketing regulation, and for his applications of economic theory to marketing behavior.

In 1977 the Marketing Science Institute held a symposium in his honor, as did the Berkeley Business School in 1979. The Universities of Nebraska and California and the Stockholm School of Economics have awarded him honorary degrees. A recognized founder of the marketing discipline, he was elected to the Distribution Hall of Fame in 1953, and is the only scholar to have been twice awarded - in 1955 and 1975 - the Paul D. Converse Award for Contributions to the Theory of Marketing.

His record of scholarship is so extensive that it is difficult to believe that Grether also served for an unbroken span of 20 years from 1941 to 1961, first as Acting Dean and then as Dean of the School of Business Administration at Berkeley. He guided the School through war-time mobilization and the influx of postwar veterans; he expanded the faculty and established a separate Graduate School of Business for Master's and Ph.D. programs. At the same time, he was active in the Academic Senate at Berkeley, and as vice chairman and chairman of the University-wide Senate from 1964 to 1966.

Impressive as they are, these achievements are more than matched by the stimulus and help Grether has provided to countless students, colleagues, and friends both in Berkeley and the wider business and professional community. It is for his personal qualities as well as his scholarship and leadership that we honor him today.

THE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BERKELEY

IS PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE

THE ESTABLISHMENT BY HIS FRIENDS AND ADMIRERS

OF THE

E. T. GRETHER CHAIR IN MARKETING

The School of Business Administration

*University of California
Berkeley*

*cordially invites you to an informal reception
in honor of Dean Emeritus E. T. Grether*

*on the occasion of his 82nd birthday
and the establishment by his friends and admirers
of the E. T. Grether Chair in Marketing*

4:00 to 6:00 p.m.

Friday, March 27, 1981

Great Hall, Faculty Club

*R.S.V.P.
Grether Reception
350 Barrows
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720*

from the Safeway Company, which I appreciated very much, since I'd had many relationships out there over the years, and one from Harry Wellman, my good friend. These were the initial contributions to the fund, which I suppose will have to be built up and completed, because they'd like to have about \$300,000 to \$350,000.

Nathan: Then the income is used to sustain the chair?

Grether: Not for the salary, but for the perquisites and research, so that the professorship gets to be really a very nice thing indeed when you add these perquisites on top of the normal salary that such a person would get. You see, when I was Flood Professor I never got these benefits. It was used either to pay part of my salary or went into a broader fund for the general uses of the school. But we're getting a number of these now, and Cheit's taking a great deal of leadership in finding funds of this particular sort.

Then there's a further thing I would like to mention. You remember how earlier we noted that Regent Arthur B. Rodgers was chairman of the subcommittee that recommended establishing the College of Commerce?

Nathan: Yes.

Grether: Well, since then I've discovered also that he was chairman of the Regents' committee that did the interviewing that led to recommending Benjamin Ide Wheeler for his appointment, which turned out to be tremendously successful in the history of the University of California. So Rodgers must have been one of our great Regents, looking at it in terms of the historical overview.

Well, so much for just some of the things of this general sort.



XXVII THE CAMPUS AND PROBLEMS IN THE 60s

Grether: Today, I understand, we want to worry about the 60s.

Nathan: That would be wonderful. You were in a unique position to both participate and observe also, I think, because you were trusted by a number of different factions. I hope you will speak of what you think is important.

Grether: All right.

Personal Background and Observation

Grether: If I may, I'd like first to indicate some aspects of my--or, I should say, our background, because my wife's been involved in all this over the years. We arrived here in 1922, as you will recall as graduate students and teaching fellows in economics. So we've had, you see, from 1922 to the present, and we had a very fine background before the problems in the 1960s occurred.

But in addition to our local experience, we were exceedingly fortunate that during the 50s and early 60s projects came along that led us to the Scandinavian countries, to Europe, to a visit to the USSR in 1959, to the Orient, to Indonesia, and so on. In other words, in addition to what we saw and learned ourselves, we were interacting. I was interacting with students in my seminars and with visiting scholars from these various parts of the world, so I have a certain sense of what was going on in other parts of the world.

For example, when we were in Sweden in 1953, we were warned, especially my wife, not to use the subways at night; especially, she shouldn't do this alone. Why? Because there were certain types appearing in their society then that we now call hippies, you see. They were already emerging in the Swedish society. So we discovered that some of the things that we thought were peculiar to our society were not entirely lacking there. Some of the things that finally appeared so forcefully in the 1960s, it turns out, represented worldwide phenomena.

Some people think it all started in Berkeley. This is a great mistake. There were many things going on in many parts of the world that happened to be ticked off, and there are certain peculiar aspects of the Berkeley situation, which I hope we will develop as we go along, that make the interpretation of the scene at Berkeley somewhat different from that in other parts of the world.

Collection of Materials

Grether: Now, I should mention also that I have an enormous collection of materials. You've discovered this in the past. I have boxes at home, and right behind you are boxes of materials, and so on. These consist of two sorts of things: my own notes, and also some of my colleagues', knowing of my interests. For instance, David A. Revzan during the 60s had a very fine systematic collection, very orderly, chronologically arranged, that he turned over to me. Dow Votaw turned some things over to me from his files. In addition, I was making notes and keeping records. Then, finally, there's an enormous literature. I have some of it here in book form, and my boxes of materials carry a lot of the periodical literature.

One wonders, therefore, why in the world one should add to this enormous collection. Well, I think I have something to say that's a little different, based both upon our own experiences as well as reading of the literature, and this is what we'll try to discover as we advance.

I might say that in the literature we were very fortunate indeed that this book of Max Heirich appeared,

called The Spiral of Conflict. I noticed, by the way, that in Katherine Towle's [oral history] memoir she referred to this. This was a Ph.D. thesis in sociology, written in that department. He was following the whole series of developments in '64 and early '65 blow by blow, making tape recordings, making photographs, and collecting all the written materials, the memoranda. It's all recorded chronologically here. It's a beautiful job.

Nathan: Yes.

Grether: There's no reason to go over that again, except by way of interpretation. Here, for example, is John Searle's The Campus War, a very readable interpretation of things as he saw them. Now, what I'm going to try to do is add my slant, so to speak, or interpretation, to what others have done.

I should mention that I had retired as dean, you will recall, in 1961. We left for Indonesia to look into our program out there, stopping in Japan and other places on the way, and then from there on we went around into Europe and so on. So I had no official duties, but one of them did develop that turned out to be very strategic. I was elected vice chairman of the [faculty] Statewide Assembly for the year '64-'65, serving with Angus Taylor, who was chairman. The following year I became the chairman, and this led into certain things that will appear in the discussion as we advance.

Nathan: Right. Could we go back just a moment? Perhaps you'd like to say a word about what the statewide assembly is.

Grether: That's where the nine Academic Senates send representatives to meet in this Statewide Assembly. We've gone over this ground, by the way, in one of our previous discussions.

Nathan: Right.

Grether: It's the top statewide meeting for the faculty. Academic Senates meet first in the council, which is a small body, and then in the assembly, which is a larger body.

Nathan: Right. It is the top statewide--

Grether: Top statewide Academic Senate body.

State Population and Campus Enrollment

Grether: You may recall, on our earlier tape, when I pointed out how Berkeley had some problems. That may arise today, because I'm going to give some figures showing what is happening in the state's population growth, in the University's enrollment growth, and in Berkeley's, that I think are very important by way of background here.

Some of my colleagues had very important roles in this whole series of events. Clark Kerr, of course, was President. Dean Cheit was a member of the Emergency Executive Committee of the Academic Senate and of other senate committees, and then became executive vice chancellor under Roger Heyns when he was appointed chancellor. Joseph Garbarino of our faculty, for example, was chairman of the very crucial Committee on Academic Freedom, which brought in a report at the December 8 meeting of the Academic Senate, which was probably one of the most important meetings in the history of the Academic Senate and of the University. This we'll get into as we advance.

Actually, our student body was not as much involved, relatively, as other student bodies. The center of what took place out here in Sproul Plaza and in general was in the humanities and in the social sciences, not in the professional schools, but one should not misread that. The students in the professional schools, like engineering and whatnot, including business, were involved. They were actively interested, but the intensity of the involvement was quite different, I think, in the humanities and social sciences, and it involved some things that I think will appear as we advance.

Another thing I should like to mention is that this whole series of events placed great strains on personal relationships, and one I want to be sure to get into the record. The night before Chancellor Strong went to the hospital in December, we had dinner with the Strong's at Tom Blaisdell's. I mention that because we were all friends together, you see. Yet I found myself in basic disagreement with Ed Strong, an old friend, and the nature of this disagreement will appear, but I'm glad to say it has not spoiled our friendship. This was a very common phenomenon in this highly charged, emotional period in the University's history.

Strategic Period: 1963-1974

Grether: Now, so far as I am concerned, I like breaking the time period in the same way that Theodore White does in his book, In Search of History. He takes the period '63 to '74 as the strategic period. I like that, because he felt something important happened after the assassination of John Kennedy in Dallas, and I think that's true. So, roughly, this is the period that I think is strategic in terms of the 60s.

It so happened that I was in Dallas three or four weeks before the assassination on a visiting team in connection with the business administration program at Southern Methodist University. I well recall how, at a dinner meeting, the hostess said to me, "Do you realize you are having dinner in one of the most reactionary, conservative parts of the United States?" So when the assassination occurred, I thought, well, probably it was a right-wing--. But it turns out that it is a very difficult and much more confused type of situation than something that simple.

Well, so much by way of general background.

The Moat vs. Public Service

Grether: If you don't mind, I should like to look at a number of what I call strategic aspects of the situation in Berkeley and the University of California--but focussed upon Berkeley--that affected this whole period, and just what occurred. Now, the one I would like to begin with is what I call the moat around the University, and especially around the Berkeley campus. I'm not sure whether other people have used this verbiage or not.

Nathan: I'm not familiar with it.

Greener: Well, I find it very helpful. In the Constitution of the State of California, the following words appear with reference to the University of California: "It shall be entirely independent of all political or sectarian influence, and kept free therefrom in the appointment of its Regents and in the administration of its affairs." Now, that same wording appears in the 1918 revision of the Constitution.

In addition, of course, you will recall from our other discussions the Organic Act, under which the University was established. The University was established as a land-grant university, and you can call that, if you wish, a people's university. Now, here is something that I think is exceedingly important in relation to this wording about keeping the University independent of political and sectarian influence. The land-grant people's universities of this country were highly innovative in the world situation. For example, they were quite different from the European universities. A German university was in an unfriendly environment; they had to have moats around them. They worried a great deal about academic freedom for the scholars, you see, and this is true of the private schools in this country, to some extent. Then we come along with a form of university that's intended to serve the people directly.

But yet we find this provision in the Constitution. Now, one interpretation of this might well have been that this could apply merely to the appointment of the president, the top administrators, the Regents, and so on, and I suspect that would have been the more reasonable interpretation. But as the years advanced, and especially, I suspect, in order to indicate that the University was independent of religious and political influences, there developed this thing I call the moat, and it eventually took very curious and paradoxical forms.

Before we get to that, let's make it clear that any agency with space has to decide how to use that space. My wife, for example, is on the Building Use Committee of St. John's Presbyterian Church. A lot of people want to use our space, you see. This is true of all the agencies around the campus, because space is scarce and valuable. So the University had to have regulations governing access to its facilities.

So far as I know, the first formal action was in 1934. This appears in Verne Stadtman's history.¹ Joel Hildebrand, Harry Kingman, and Paul Cadman were involved in a committee recommending the rules governing the access of various bodies to campus facilities, for example which student organizations should be allowed to use them. So this was a very real problem.

¹Verne A. Stadtman, The University of California 1868-1968 (New York: McGraw-Hill), 1970.

Campus Ban on Candidates' Speech, Sather Gate and the Strip

Grether: The more interesting thing that occurred was that it led to the prohibition of having politicians and people running for office speaking on the campus. Now, you probably recall that very curious situation where Adlai Stevenson had to speak on the edge of the campus, on a specially constructed little platform, rather than speaking on the campus.

Nathan: Yes. He was outside the West Gate, I think.

Grether: That's right, special construction there. On the same day, Eisenhower spoke on a train down at the Berkeley station, as I recall it. But also, if you listened to those two talks, you can see why Eisenhower won the election and why Stevenson lost. Stevenson, for example, said, as I recall it (you may recall this), that football bears the same relationship to culture as bullfighting does to agriculture. [laughter] It's too bad he wasn't elected President. Eisenhower said, "Judging from your record, your football players must be seven feet tall." Well, you see-

Nathan: Yes. [laughter]

Grether: So after Eisenhower was elected we had those first four years of what were called the period of apathy, you see, but actually it wasn't that way.

Nathan: It was not apathy, you mean?

Grether: White, in his book, points out how the storm was incubating during that period. I agree, too, in terms of what I saw in California. This was kind of a period of incubation rather than apathy.

Well, let's pursue this further. Governor Pat Brown, when he was running for office, was not allowed to speak on the campuses of the University, but he was allowed to speak on the campuses of the state college system. Therefore it took Clark Kerr and the Regents about a year to get him to understand the University. He was sympathetic and understood, but he'd been to the state colleges. But he'd been excluded, you see, from speaking on the University campuses.

So what happened then, as you well recall, is that there got to be the Sather Gate tradition. Before the Student Union was built, you remember, the YWCA was out here, and also further down the street was the YMCA.

Nathan: Right. Along that curving street.

Grether: And then the street came along in front of Sather Gate, and the people who were excluded from the campus could stand outside there--and they did--and talk into the campus. That was kind of the safety valve area, or the free speech area.

By the way, my wife and I were in London in 1933 (I think that's mentioned in the earlier taping), and we watched Hyde Park in operation. I've always felt we should have had a Hyde Park. We tried later on, but it didn't solve the problem. It's been here right from the beginning, I think. But, in a sense, Sather Gate was the Hyde Park, you see, for the campus, so anybody who was excluded could speak to the students and to the faculty there.

Now, after the student union was built there was a difficult problem, because cars could no longer pull up in front. It was discovered that the city still owned ten feet, right along the edge of the campus. Then there's twenty-six feet. There's about thirty-six to forty feet before you get to the posts out there, you see. That came to be called the strip, and the new Sather Gate was on that strip, on a combination of city property where the vendors under license sell their food and wares, you see. Then the students developed the custom of having tables up there for their causes, to sell memberships, to promote whatever cause they were promoting. This got to be a very important area in the replacement of the original Sather Gate area.

This is what produced, then, the whole series of episodes of 1964, when Alex Sherriffs (and Chancellor Strong went along with him) decided to remove those tables, without realizing how important this tradition was. Sherriffs should have known better, I would think. Well, Ed Strong should have also, but they misread the thing. The thing they misread was the high importance of the civil rights group at that time. Many of our students had been down south, and here when they came back they found they were barred from doing some things that they'd been accustomed to doing in that particular strategic little area.

Nathan: Let me ask you about one report that the Regents had authorized the deeding of the strip to the city.

Grether: Yes.

Nathan: But it had not been done.

Grether: Yes, that's right, and still I'd like to know why it wasn't done. I don't think Clark Kerr knows.

Now, I understand that Chancellor Seaborg is writing a book about his period as chancellor, and maybe that will disclose it, because he was chancellor during this ensuing period when it should have occurred. One wonders what would have happened to the history of the University and Berkeley if it had.

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Nathan: You were saying that this indicated--

Grether: It indicates the intent of the Regents, as of that period.

Nathan: Right.

Grether: In fact, recently (I think I can say this) I happened to be chatting with Clark Kerr, and he said that all of a sudden it has come to him what he should have done at that time. He should have suspended the action taken by Sherriffs and Strong on the grounds that it was violating the Regents' intent and also the Regents' own regulations. This would have saved face, you see, but that's the benefit of hindsight.

I noticed in Katherine Towle's memoir that she refers to a memorandum of Tom Cunningham, who was the [Regents'] attorney, in which he said there was nothing in the Regents' rulings and interpretations that would outlaw, for instance, advocacy on the part of the students in their own activities. Somehow that was lost in the files.

Nathan: Fascinating.

Grether: There are a lot of things that are important to point out. There's one other thing, I think, we should understand. That is that while this was going on in terms of rules

governing political activity, the University, in the very nature of things, was having very intimate relationships with all the groups in the state. It began with agriculture, because agriculture was paramount in the original land-grant charter; it had to be served. So the working relation between agriculture groups, individual and organized, was very close. It's true of engineering; mechanic arts and engineering were stressed, you see.

As I recall it, when I was president of the American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business, we asked Dean Potter of Purdue to meet with us to discuss how the engineers nationally organize themselves. We discovered they're extraordinarily well organized to represent engineering, you see, and this is true here locally as well as nationally. You remember, when we discussed the history of the School of Business, how many groups came to the University and wanted us to have courses or programs that reflected their educational and other interests. So the people's land-grant university had to have close working relationships. Then, looking back at it, it seems to be almost inevitable that at some point the students who were denied this political opportunity would become restive, you see, and it certainly did occur then in the 60s, because the relationships were so intimate in many aspects of what was going on around us.

Nathan: I don't know if this is appropriate, but as you speak about the moat around the University, during the oath period that did not save the faculty from political pressures?

Grether: No, no. I want to mention that, because this is another aspect of the environment that's very important.

Discipline of Students: Faculty or Administration

Grether: A second factor in the environment was the Academic Senate Revolt of 1919 to 1920, which we discussed, but there's one aspect of that which is very important here. When the senate finally discovered it was given important duties and responsibilities, including advice in selecting and promoting its own members and so on, it gave up, passed back to the University administration, the chief thing it had been doing historically--that is, the discipline of

students. It now was doing more important things, so it passed this over to the president, who had it handled through the dean of students, you see.

Later on, in the 60s, the faculty tried to get this back again, but the Regents said, "No, it's a matter handled by the administration." This could have been very crucial. Suppose the faculty had maintained its own committees handling student discipline, rather than having it handled by the administration? It might have made a difference of some sort.

A third thing that my wife and I both noticed is something very subtle, but we think very important. We don't know what to call it (we've talked about this)--a combination of loyalty, pride, spirit, or whatnot. We came from different universities. We discovered that in California people had a peculiar pride in the University of California and a loyalty to it, but very unique.

In my wife's case this took a rather curious form, because the songs and cheers of Montana were identical with those of California. Why? Because Bob Sibley, who later on was for years the head of the Alumni Association, was on the engineering faculty up there for a period, and he brought all his California cheers and songs to Montana and changed the words. [laughter] So she already knew these.

Pride and Loyalty

Grether: But it indicates something very important. We noticed, then, that as the years advanced there was something, a very powerful force here, and the people in the state took great pride. There was a lot of loyalty, you see, to the University, and especially to the Berkeley campus.

Now, you have to be very careful. This gets a bit confused. For example, right when we arrived was the period of the "Wonder" football team, when for five years we were the national champions. So there was a great deal of pride, and that still is present among the alumni. There's some of that mixed up in this, but it was something deeper.

I'm inclined to think, having now read much more history than I'd read earlier, that Benjamin Ide Wheeler had a very important role in this. He went out to the people of the state and asked them to love the University; this is their university, you see. He asked them to come right on in. For instance, talking before the merchants of San Francisco on behalf of the new College of Commerce, he'd say, "This is your college. You should be proud of it. You should cooperate with it," and so on. He did this all over the state, and on the campus he talked about how the students should love the University, cheer for their University; and then you had people like Bob Sibley come along, you see.

The whole thing added up to a type of loyalty and pride that I think may well have been unique. It's partly the location, out here in the West, you see. They were so far removed from the East. The people wanted a great university here that they could be proud of and to which they could send their children, and this was very important in this early period.

By the way, when we were in Russia in '59, down at Odessa at the university, we were being shown the library. The librarian came running up, very excited, and said, "Look." She showed us a copy of The California Pilgrimage, by Bob and Carol Sibley, which they had left in the library there when they had visited Russia just the year before us.

Nathan: How interesting.

Grether: I understand Carol has done her oral history, too. You didn't handle it?

Nathan: No, I didn't; it's very fine.

Grether: Well, this is something that is very subtle, but do you think it's important?

Nathan: I do. Perhaps it reflects a time of greater innocence?

Grether: Yes, it does. Well, I don't know what it is.

Well, then Bob Sproul was just made to order. Following Wheeler you had first, Barrows, very briefly, and then [William W.] Campbell. Campbell was a wonderful scholar, but he couldn't lead the cheers. [chuckles] But then he was replaced by Bob Sproul, who was just made to order to

continue this type of thing, you see--an alumnus, an enormous presence, and he went to all the basketball games. He was always there at the athletic events, and he sort of set the image for at least the first part of his administration. But, as I observed it, something was beginning to happen towards the end of the Sproul administration. Things weren't quite the same any more, and let's keep this in mind as we advance, because I think it sets the stage for the later developments.

May we return to this matter of California loyalty?

Nathan: Oh, yes. I had a note about Ky Ebright.

Grether: Ky Ebright. Well, now, there's a good example--the loyalty that he and his winning crews developed, you see, and the pride that everybody had. Carrie served with him on some of the community boards. He was a very good member of the community. The University was at that time involved deeply in the Berkeley community.

Also, during that period I shouldn't forget to mention the role of fraternities and sororities. Many students commuted from San Francisco to the Berkeley campus, and those who lived here, for the most part, lived in fraternity and sorority houses or in garden cottages or whatnot. It was quite a different environment. There was an informality about the campus during that period--the students and the faculty homes. The faculty lived around the campus. Since then, we've been engulfed, you see, in the great metropolitan area. The whole environment has changed.

Berkeley Campus: Physical Growth, but Loss of Position

Grether: Here's a good example of change. [consults records] In 1910, for example, the population of the state was 2,377,000, and that was 2.6 percent of the U.S. population. When you get down to 1960, the state had grown to 15,717,000, about 9 percent of the U.S. population. It was following a rapid growth curve.

Now, you may recall (again, in our earlier taping) that the postwar development was critical--post-World War II. Not only did growth of population continue, but California

became a major industrial state with all the problems from rapid growth. By the way, we couldn't handle all those problems. We had to take care of growth and jobs, and therefore some of the current problems of air pollution and water use and so on, ad infinitum, were not being handled promptly, and the stage was set for creating all sorts of problems.

The same thing happened, in my view, in the University. Just look at these figures. [shows interviewer records] In 1910, the University enrolled 4,300 students. Of these, 3,700-plus were on the Berkeley campus. In other words, the Berkeley campus was almost synonymous with the University. Come down to 1920-21 (and Carrie and I arrived in '22), the University had a total of 13,860 students, of which almost 11,000 were on the Berkeley campus. We used to say the Berkeley campus had 10,000 students when we arrived. It was a big place, one of the big universities of the world, you see, with 10,000.

Nathan: Yes, it was.

Grether: As of that period. Now, population was growing, the University expanding. In 1950-51, the University enrolled 44,000-plus students; the Berkeley campus, 22,000. Gradually, you see, Berkeley was losing, relatively, its position in the University. That was still roughly half of the University in the Berkeley campus.

You come down to, for example, '64-'65, the critical year. At that point the University had 79,000 students, and the Berkeley campus only 30,000 of them. You see, the Berkeley campus had lost its position.

Nathan: Even though it was physically growing.

Grether: It was physically growing, but relatively it was not. In '79-80--look at these figures--the University enrolled 131,918 students, of which the Berkeley campus had 30,400. That is, the University actually had grown somewhat more rapidly than the state in adjustment to the demands placed upon it. The Berkeley campus had held relatively static in the recent period, and this is why the Berkeley campus felt restive in the statewide situation; because it had been the University, and now there were these enormous developments in other parts of the state, including especially southern California.

My point is this. It would seem to be almost inevitable, when growth this rapid occurs, that there would be unresolved problems, stresses and strains, and they certainly showed then, in the 60s and the 70s.

Nathan: Let me ask you one question, if I may. You suggested that Berkeley became somewhat restive, having to remain at a relatively limited growth and not being able to expand as rapidly as it had earlier, or had not been able to keep its relative leadership position. Are you suggesting that the faculty felt this way?

Grether: Well, you remember, we had a taping on this. When I was chairman of the Statewide Assembly, I had to defend the statewide senate before the Berkeley senate, because the Berkeley senate was talking about becoming autonomous. They felt they were being hurt in cooperating with the statewide administration.

Nathan: Right. So I take it that you're saying this was a cause of faculty restiveness?

Grether: Yes, the faculty was restive; there was a restless faculty situation, too, to some extent, as well as a student situation. I think in my earlier taping I used those words, as I recall it.

Nathan: Yes. You're picking up the threads again.

Grether: That's right, trying to put them together here.

Transition and Incubation

Grether: Now, in the 50s something else happened that's very important: on the national level, the House Un-American Activities Committee, McCarthyism; on the state level, the Tenney Committee, and later on the Burns committees--in other words, this whole period, so unfortunate in our history, when everybody was being called a Communist (which, I suspect, is one of the most important reasons that we finally got trapped in the Vietnam war, because the people who really knew the Asiatic and Oriental situation were called Communists or fellow travelers or whatnot, and we

lost the benefit of the kind of wisdom that had been available to try to understand what was going on in this part of the world).

This was going on in California, too. You see, I was chairman of the Academic Senate, Northern Section, during this period, so I was attending meetings of the Regents. I still recall how [John Francis] Neylan was sitting at one end of the table, almost presiding. At the other end was the governor, if he was present, or the president. You had this bifurcated situation, strong opposition. I think we've been over that ground, but the point is that it was a very important aspect of the 50s period and the incubating period that finally led to what happened in the 60s.

Another important, I think, strategic aspect was the transition from the postwar veterans period into something that was supposed to be more normal. Yesterday I was in line at the bank, and a man introduced himself. He said, "Dean Grether, I was in your class in 1948." I said, "You must have been a veteran." He said, "Yes, I was a veteran." I said, "That was a big class of four hundred, wasn't it?" He said, "Yes."

So we had hundreds of the veterans come back in the post-war period, and they set a tone. As I said earlier, they'd been out for two, three, or four years. They were married. They wanted to get along. They didn't like the Joe College spirit of some of the undergraduates. For example, my wife remarked that in my son's fraternity house, one of these veterans beat up one of the Joe College students because he was too much that way. They didn't like it. They wanted to get on with their careers. They were very serious students, much more so than the typical undergraduate, and we did not have the facilities for taking care of them properly. We had to handle them in big classes.

But by '55, it appeared that we were just about through with that big onrush from World War II. Incidentally, you may recall that our graduate school was established in '55. That was planned that way, because most of these veterans were undergraduates, you see, and we had to take care of them in our undergraduate courses.

Now, it was assumed that this would make a difference. It did, but not quite the difference that was expected, you see, because now you run for a few years into what we

sometimes call the period of apathy. But I think White is exactly right that it was very deceiving, because something was incubating, and we weren't always aware of what was taking place.

TV, Demography, and Guilt

Grether: Here are some miscellaneous things that were at work. For example, TV was making itself effective as a force, and White does a beautiful job of describing that. Now, when we got into the 60s, of course, you were dealing with people who had been educated, or maleducated, by the TV but could use the TV. A lot of what took place there was immediately presented to the whole people of the state, and they became so aware of and involved in what was taking place there.

There were other things. For example, some of the people looking at this period say, "Oh, the trouble was that we now were getting the students who were the products of progressive education, lack of discipline, and who were suffering because of the maladvice given by some of the psychologists as to how kids should be raised." Well, we went through that with our children, so I know all about that. I think there's something to it, by the way. [chuckles] But you can't use that as a general force. Why? Because what finally emerged was worldwide.

I think what happened here was something demographic; that is, in the postwar period you always have a baby boom, and what was happening was that in the 60s those kids were teenagers, low teenagers and high teenagers, you see. This is the way it was in Japan, even Russia, and European countries; all over the world you had a similar expression of this group that was extra-large in the population structure as of that time and influenced by all sorts of things.

Locally, of course, the civil rights factor was very important because we were focused upon the South and, of course, one of our own local boys [Warren] was Chief Justice of the United States and wrote this Brown v. Board of Education opinion. This was all happening, and we were all participating. Then there was a curious aspect. You think about this, too. For some reason, the students developed

guilt feelings, and it showed in their dress. They were going around barefoot, wearing old clothes, castoff clothing. They seemed to feel that because they were members of an affluent society, better off than many parts of the world or members of our own society, they could show sympathy with this through their dress. That led into what we came to call the hippie movement to some extent.

I brought with me something that I'll give you if you'd like to have it. You see this picture here?

Nathan: Oh, yes.

Grether: The original of this, with much more color--this is only two-tone--hangs on our wall at home. My wife painted this, and the reason she did it is because of what I'm talking about here.

During this period I was doing some consulting work down in Los Angeles, working with some of the lawyers down there, and one of them took great pride in making fun about the developments in the Bay Area--the flower children, the early phases, you see. I came back from one of these Los Angeles trips with a picture taken from the Los Angeles Times, a photograph made in Griffith Park, Los Angeles, in which something like this was taking place down there.

So I said to my wife, "I wish you'd paint this. I'd like to show it to my friend in Los Angeles." So that was the basis for this painting that hangs on our wall. This was used, then, as a memorandum, a little souvenir, for the meetings of the American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business in the Fairmont Hotel, May 3-8, 1970, in San Francisco. Also, in the Crystal Room they showed some of my wife's paintings, including the original of this one.

Now, notice here. [reading from photograph of painting] "Brothers and sisters, we are one, and our life has just begun. In the spirit we are young. We could live forever." These are the flower children. This is the first phase, you see. Notice the dress, or lack of it [chuckles]. That is, something was going on here that was difficult to interpret, but where people in our affluent society were shedding evidence of affluence and trying to participate. My wife calls this painting "A Happening in the Park." That's all. This is the first phase, before drugs came along and tended

to destroy it. So this, I think, was going on also at that time.

Changing Values and Life Styles

Grether: Now I want to get into something that I think is very difficult. While all this was beginning to emerge, it was clear that something was happening to life styles, and I became interested. In my usual bent, I began collecting. I have a great collection of clippings at home on what I called "Changing Values and Life Styles," and I haven't yet done anything with it. But we should think about this, because I want to see what you make of this.

In the meantime, it's clear that what we saw beginning to show in the late 50s and the early 60s was not transient. I'll see if you accept this. It was something very basic, not only in this country but in other parts of the world also. It's become so basic that I notice when I read the marketing journals that business firms are doing research in this area because they've got to keep in touch with it; it affects their markets, you see. The most interesting one is (I brought it with me) SRI International. SRI used to be Stanford Research, but this is a fancier name. Their project, which they call VALS (Values and Life Styles), is a project supported by fifty or sixty American corporations. It has over \$1 million subscribed to it, to try to analyze these changes in lifestyles and get some measures, because it does affect business behavior. It especially affects markets.

I notice in this report from the Census Bureau that non-family households increased 66 percent since 1970 in this country. Something's happening in the family, in marital relationships, and in many, many other aspects of our behavior, our patterns, you see. It again is something very subtle. It's like this earlier discussion of the California spirit. But it's very important, don't you think?

Nathan: I do. It's hard to know whether it's the swing of a pendulum. Will it swing back, or is it going to keep moving in that direction?

Grether: This is why I think it's so important. In the very nature of things, it produces opposition, the reverse. That is, there is a group on the other side who is resisting this, you see. I'm not taking sides in this. That is, I'm an observer here, but I see something.

Now, in Berkeley it happened early. It happened in the 50s and early 60s already. That is, people began leaving the dormitories, moving out into apartments, and living together without the benefit of clergy. The sexual mores were changing. Undoubtedly, the pill and other methods of contraception were very important; they freed women in sexual relationships, and it's obviously something that has occurred locally as well as elsewhere.

My wife and I sat down the other day to talk about this. Now, we have close friends in this state, in Montana, and in other states. We couldn't think of a single family with teenagers untouched by this. Of course, we don't live in the South. But it's true that in reaction to this there is a growing conservative movement also, and there are bound, therefore, to be great counteracting pressures and forces here. This, I am inclined to think, helps to understand the 60s, because the community is resisting, you see. Is that right?

Nathan: I'm sure this is true. Thinking of the way American young people changed their methods of behavior, I often wonder, too, whether the increased travel and their contact with other cultures has had an influence. French students have customarily lived this way.

Grether: Yes. In Sweden, too. In any event, it not only involves sexual mores and the nuclear family unit and so on, it involves many other manifestations, you see.

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Grether: We were talking about what I called VALS, or values and life styles, and the changes that were obviously occurring there and their significance.

You may recall, when we discussed Texas, that I referred to this doctoral dissertation there on The Structure and Function of Deviant Economic Institutions, which is a study based upon interviews made in gay bars, around the West especially, including San Francisco. Well, to me one of the

most revealing aspects of what has taken place is how openly this whole gay and lesbian type of development is being discussed now locally. Just what's involved here and what will happen, considering the nature of the opposition forces, isn't clear, but it's very revealing. It was inconceivable 25 years ago to have this kind of discussion going on. I personally had no awareness that there was something this big as an aspect of behavior patterns in our society.

Well, these are all by way of what I call background. I think one has to put drugs in. I think we've mentioned drugs. That is, when drugs got into the act, that brought in some forces that are very difficult to deal with and are obviously very important. They're still going on. We haven't learned how to deal with this. I'm pleased to report that last year when we made up our income tax report we found we'd spent \$3.60 for drugs last year for the two of us. [laughter]

Sproul Plaza as a Corral

Grether: My next set of things that I hope you'll allow me to discuss--some of them are even more difficult than those I've just been through. One is not so difficult: the physical characteristics of the Berkeley campus in relation to what happened in the 60s. When the Student Union was built it was thought, of course, to be a great way to revive the student morale, to have a student center. And there it is. But in the process, Sather Gate was moved, as we discovered, out to the fringes, but also in the process a beautiful plaza was created, with seats on both sides; just a natural place, and the major traffic flow was right through it. So when all the trouble struck, that's where all the activity took place. In fact, using our ranch simile, it was an enormous corral. [laughter]

Nathan: Lovely.

Grether: I used to go out there, by the way, at that time. I'd like to discuss some of that just a bit. You know, my bent is not to merely use formal models, but to deal with the people involved. When this was going on, I used to get out and talk to the students. One time [chuckles] I discovered that

a Christian Science Monitor reporter was following me, so I appeared on the front page of that newspaper in terms of the nature of the discussion.

Well, physical characteristics--I know of no campus set up quite the same way. For instance, Texas doesn't have this kind of a funnel and concentration point.

Role of the So-Called Radical Students

Grether: The second aspect--this is very subtle--was the role of the so-called radical students in all this, in relation to the great mass of students. Now, when we get into the real action, we note right away that in the first action all students, conservative and moderate, were joined. They were so incensed by removing the tables, you see. It was a widespread opposition. But eventually, especially after that car episode, the left-wing radical students took over in the so-called Free Speech Movement. I feel very uncomfortable about all this because I didn't get to know those students. They were not in our own student body, for example.

Nathan: When you say "our own," do you mean the business administration students?

Grether: Yes, that's right. The students I was seeing in class were not involved in this group. In the lack of personal acquaintanceship, as I say, I don't know what to make of this. But just let me dig into this in one interesting way.

By the way, I think terms like "Communism" and Marxism" and so on are bandied around by a lot of people who don't know what they're talking about. They'll say, "He's a Marxist." Well, the chances are he's no more of a Marxist than a jackrabbit. I think that chiefly means that anybody who is anti-establishment is labeled a Communist or a Marxist or something like that. Isn't that right? The labels come out of the mouths of people so easily.

Nathan: It depends on who's using the labels?

Grether: Yes.

Nathan: You can insult a Maoist by calling him a Marxist, too. You have to be very careful.

Grether: [laughter] Sure, sure. Oh, yes. That's right, at one period. That's not so true now any more.

Nathan: No.

Grether: Yes, this was a very interesting aspect.

Conversations with Savio

Grether: Well, here is something that I think might be worth recording. I had seen Mario Savio, of course, in action. I especially observed the famous speech. Joan Baez sang, and he made his fiery speech, and the students occupied Sproul. I'd seen him around, but I'd never talked to him. Well, I was leaving the Faculty Club on March 25, 1969, and I was walking across this little bridge, and here was Mario Savio. So on the spur of the moment I introduced myself. I said, "You know, I've been wanting to meet you. Would you mind going to the Faculty Club to have a cup of coffee (this was after lunch) and for some conversation?"

Nathan: How did he respond?

Grether: Very nicely. He said, "Yes, I'd like a cup of coffee," so we went in. We had a half-hour talk. My notes describe him as having red whiskers and long hair, but he was neat and so on. He was very pleasant, quite amiable. In the conversation I got into something that seems unbelievable, but I have to tell you the story. Whether you want to leave it in the record is your decision.

Nathan: Tell me.

Grether: All right. In the summer of 1965 I was holed up in my log cabin in Montana writing a book, and I received a phone call from Bruce Bromley, who was a partner in the big Wall Street law firm of Cravath, Swain & Moore, saying that they had a case dealing with reciprocity (in fact, it involved the General Dynamics Corporation), and that he had been told by Dan Walker that I had worked with him on a case involving this, which was the Consolidated Food Case that I think we

mentioned earlier. With this background, would I be available to consult with them on their case? I said, "Absolutely no. I'm here writing a book. I have a deadline to meet. This is why I come up here and hide out." He said, "Well, would you mind if I send a couple of lawyers out to talk with you?" I shouldn't have agreed. That was a mistake [laughter], but it had an interesting aspect.

So two young lawyers appeared in the Missoula Airport, and I had to meet them. We took them out to our summer cabins and went to work for two or three days on this problem and prepared an analysis on it. At the end of the first day, one of the young lawyers remarked, "You know, I met Mario Savio in New York and took him up to our law firm." I recall well that I said, with utter amazement, "Now, I've heard a lot of crazy things in my life, but the world is not this crazy. You are a lawyer in one of the most conservative law firms in the United States. How in the world would you ever meet Mario Savio and, second, why would you want to take him up to your law firm to introduce him?" Whereupon the other young lawyer said, "Well, you don't know who this guy is." His name was Christopher Stone. He's the son of I. F. Stone. [laughter] Isn't this interesting?

Nathan: Yes.

Grether: Now, I. F. Stone, of course, is a leading socialist writer, publisher, and so on, and a very important fellow on this side. Christopher Stone, his son, who was here on this mission to our log cabin in Montana, was a graduate of Chicago Law School and working for, as you see, this conservative Wall Street law firm.

I said, "Now, how did you meet Mario Savio?" It seems that he and his father met him on the street casually, and they were going down to have dinner at that seafood place at the foot of Wall Street (I've eaten there, too), and so they took him along--him and his wife. You may have in mind that Savio took a national tour after his fame here, and talked to other universities and had even a Times Square meeting, and he was visiting other campuses around the country; so he was in New York City undoubtedly for this particular purpose.

So when I met him, out of the clear sky I said to him, "How did you enjoy your visit on Wall Street?" He looked at

me, and he said, "Ohhhh, you mean Chris Stone." [laughter] I said, "Well, how did you enjoy it?" He said, "I said to myself at that time, 'Wouldn't it be nice if society could find some way to put these people and these facilities to a productive use?'" [laughter] This was so trite; it was kind of unbelievable.

But actually, I've written to Chris Stone since then. He's on the faculty at USC now, in the law school, and I have a letter from him here about this. He said that actually, as far as he could tell, Savio kind of enjoyed sitting in the chair of a partner in a law firm. [Chuckles] It was kind of an experience for him, you see; he really enjoyed it.

A few other things came up in the discussion. I think it's appropriate to put them in here. Savio told me he'd reapplied for readmission to the University. This was '69. He hadn't heard as yet. I understand it was delayed quite a bit. He was finally admitted. At this point he said he was going to go into physics. He'd been in philosophy.

Nathan: Oh, had he not been in mathematics?

Grether: I don't know; maybe he had also.

Nathan: Originally, I think it was mathematics.

Grether: Okay. It could be. Anyway, when he came back, I understand he went into biological sciences only briefly, and then dropped out and moved to southern California, where I understand his marriage broke up and they've had lots of problems.

I asked him about the statement made by Bradford Cleveland, who was one of the early figures, in his materials, that Savio's famous Sproul Hall steps speech had been rehearsed many times. He denied this. He said he always spoke from notes and without rehearsing. My notes indicated that I thought his denial was not very firm, that maybe there had been a bit of a rehearsal. Were you out there that day? You saw it?

Nathan: Yes.

Grether: Well, it certainly was tremendous.

I've learned since, by the way, that he had speech impediment problems when he was a child, and he had to learn to speak. This is one reason he's such a good speaker, like Demosthenes, you see. [chuckles] Also, by the way, at the end of our discussion he began to stammer. Either it was because he was getting worried about my questioning, or he had, he said, to get back to Cody's bookstore, where he was employed at that time. So there is still a problem there.

Nathan: What were you hoping to learn by this conversation?

Grether: Well, the first thing was about the Wall Street visit. I was just curious about how he'd react. [chuckles] But this next question is most important. I asked him if there was a line of continuity from 1964 to now, '69. His reply was, "Yes, but we were nicer," which is true. You see, it was after the '64 period that things really got rough on the campus--the fire-bombings at Callaghan Hall, and Wheeler Auditorium, and the People's Park episode. It's true. Then he said, "The whole business reflects the inability of the institution to adjust flexibly. If it had adjusted, things might have been different." Now, I don't know what he means by that, but this is Mario Savio's view.

I mentioned also the Greek Theatre episode, and how Clark Kerr had something similar in Toronto, where it happened early in his talk, and they tried to take a meeting away from him there. Some student who had long hair came up from the audience and defended Kerr and told the students they ought to be ashamed of themselves, whereupon another student jumped up and said, "You ought to be ashamed of your long hair." [laughter] I mentioned this episode to Savio, and he said, "Well, Kerr is a very cool person." But he said, "In our case, in the Greek Theatre, we waited until the end of the meeting before we disturbed it," which is true. But he certainly ruined the play in that famous December 7 meeting in the Greek Theatre.

I think this is very important in terms of my problem with the radical students. Throughout all of his remarks, he was critical about our present society, and especially about the small power elite that runs it, and especially the large corporations. Clearly, he was quoting Emile Durkheim's work more than Karl Marx's, but he mentioned that Marx had distinguished between work and labor.

Well, I had quite a bit more here. [consulting notes on conversation with Savio] He spoke a number of times about our great corporations. He mentioned General Motors, "larger than many countries in the world," and, "They have too much power." His whole stress was upon how he was looking forward to the "democratization and socialization of our society." This, I think, to me, helped to understand at least what was going on in the thinking of quite a few of the students. That's one thing where I feel uncomfortable, because I didn't get to know these radical students; but I think he may represent a considerable block of them. But there were others.

Sit-in at the University of British Columbia (1968)

Grether: Here is something very interesting. I was giving some lectures in the spring of 1968 at the University of Alberta in Edmonton [Canada]. I was invited by one of our former students who wrote his thesis with me, Frederick Webster, to stop on the way back to visit with them in Vancouver, and then Dean Philip White of that faculty invited Carrie and me to have lunch with him at the Faculty Club there at the University of British Columbia. That would be Saturday, October 26, I guess it was.

When we got there, they took us to the Faculty Club (I'm sure this was the place), but we couldn't have lunch there. Why? Because Jerry Rubin had been there first. What happened was that the ubiquitous Jerry Rubin had been asked to speak to some of the students there, and at Simon Fraser University, and in his talk he said, "Is there any place on your campus where you're excluded?" Somebody mentioned the Faculty Club. Now, it happens that the UBC faculty club is private property; it's not part of the university. He said, "Well, let's go liberate it." So these students marched down and "liberated" the Faculty Club; they moved in. I have some newspaper stories about it here.

But the thing that interested me about this is how it was handled. I'll turn the pages here. [turning pages of newspaper article] Instead of sending in the police and dragging the students out, they sent in an orchestra and food and said, "Have fun." [laughter]

Nathan: How clever.

Grether: This is the whole story here [referring to and going on to quote from article] "Students Liberate UBC Faculty Club, Throw Party." This describes the party. "Students who were uninvolved in liberation joined it, too." So they had, I guess, at the peak of this party 3,000 or 4,000 students jamming the Faculty Club [chuckles], having a ball.

Most of them left about midnight. I understand the hardcore stayed behind, and then they sent in a labor negotiator type to negotiate; he succeeded in getting them all out before morning. But in the process, they had done so much damage that we couldn't have our lunch there on Saturday. It had to be in the Royal Yacht Club instead, and it was a very pleasant luncheon.

This, you see, is sort of what Clark Kerr had in mind in the Sproul sit-in; not that they should have a party, but he wanted to just let them sit it out. But instead the governor sent the CHP in. Don McLaughlin last night told me something that I didn't realize; that he went in that night himself and spent a good part of the night there. He didn't see any police brutality, and things were fairly quiet. But the governor sent the CHP in to take the students out. One doesn't know. Was this a better procedure? At least the UBC way worked. They got maybe \$5,000 worth of damage that they had to repair, but they didn't have this enormous aftermath that we had.

Now, Jerry Rubin is the type of nonstudent who drifted into Berkeley--outsiders who came in--and there's quite a group of those. Again, I feel uncomfortable because I had difficulty in sizing up their relative role in all of this. The reason I mention this is because it does reach a problem of judgment that gets important later on.

Nathan: Could I ask one question again, about Jerry Rubin? I wonder whether you would want to speculate on this--whether he was using the University as a sort of publicity setting for his own activities. When he finally surrendered to the U.S. marshal, he surrendered on the steps of Sproul Hall, although he had nothing to do with the University.

Grether: Well, Searle or somebody in the literature says, "To Jerry Rubin, this was show biz." That's the way he puts it.

Nathan: I see. Did you have any judgment about this?

Grether: No, no. I really don't know. But it was show biz up there, obviously, to suggest that they liberate the Faculty Club.
[laughter]

Nathan: I see.

Film "The Berkeley Revolution" and Burns Committee Reports

Nathan: So you're wondering about the nonstudents' role?

Grether: What the relative role was. Now, when we get to the climax, I'll take a position on some of this.

What happened, you see, was that a small group--you can call them leftwing radicals or anti-establishment people--took charge, and a time or two they almost lost their control; the movement almost died. Then there were mistakes made by the Berkeley campus administration that revived the whole thing again, and then the sit-in did it finally.

Now, here is this film called "The Berkeley Revolution." [holds up a flier] I'm sorry I couldn't find a copy anymore. When I was chairman of the Statewide Assembly, I had this shown to the assembly. They thought it was very funny, but it's not funny at all. Why? Because many people in the state believed this. This film says, "The Communists are arrogantly confident that the momentum from their unprecedented growth on American campuses today will be the final force to erupt the revolutionary volcano that will destroy America. Communism is your problem." So this film was made available.

I recall when we saw this film. It begins with Lenin and Stalin with red backgrounds, and then Clark Kerr with a red background; Clark Kerr was the man who was allowing these Communist forces to take over the University of California. The shots they showed were nonstudent shots on the street. They weren't the typical ordinary students on the campus. You got the impression that the whole University had been subverted into this great radical type of center and activity. It quotes [Stephen] Smale of the

The Communists are arrogantly confident that the momentum from their unprecedented growth on American campuses today will be the final force to erupt the revolutionary volcano that will destroy America.



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THE BERKELEY REVOLUTION

THE BERKELEY REVOLUTION is a 30 minute, full color sound film strip dramatically exposing with on the scene color photos how the nation's largest educational institution has come under the influence of a handful of fanatic revolutionaries.

According to F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover, this plague is sweeping across the campuses of America. Many are tempted to dismiss the importance of the current wave of riots, civil disobedience and draft card burnings as simply the current generation's version of gold fish swallowing. No one who sees this film will continue to make this tragic error.



"We want the Viet Cong to defeat the United States for international reasons. If the U.S. is defeated in South-east Asia, this will help break American power elsewhere in the world. This would give new impetus to revolutionary social change (wars of liberation) in such places as Africa and Latin America. And if surrounded by revolutionary change, it will in turn make it easier to achieve radical change in the United States."

Steven Smale, Professor of Mathematics, University of California and co-founder of International Days of Protest

This documentary film makes public never before shown evidence concerning Communist impact on America's college campuses, authenticated by a report of the California State Senate Committee On Un-American Activities. The Berkeley Revolution is Produced and Directed by best selling author Bill Richardson and written by Gary Allen, author of Civil Riots-U.S.A.

America's future is in the hands of its youth. But in whose hands are our youth? The Berkeley Revolution makes no allegations, it just shows you the on-the-scenes proof that a small hard core of revolutionaries has virtually captured our nation's largest university in a movement that is spreading across our land.

Are there real Communists in this country? The Berkeley Revolution unmasks them, to you and they are not plotting in some obscure cellar or hiding under somebody's bed, but working openly on our college campuses.

Are the protestors merely harmless misfit beatniks incapable of hurting anyone but themselves? The Berkeley Revolution exposes the Judas goats leading the innocent students. You will see the pied pipers of revolution leading young Americans

into a miasma of rebellion, civil disobedience and perversion.

What really is behind the Peace and Free Speech movements? The Berkeley Rebellion discloses that the student revolution is a trial balloon to test how much they can get away with and what sort of opposition they will encounter. The main ideological purpose is to condition the American people into accepting force as the means of settling political controversy. If the universities, the supposed citadels of reason, knowledge, scholarship and civilization, can be made to surrender to brute force and mob rule, the rest of the country is doomed.

How do the Communists influence and recruit American youth, the majority of whom have no sympathy for Communism? The Berkeley Revolution exposes the role of the educational institution, the faculty and the hard-core non-student revolutionary in leading students to reject their family, their country, their religion, and their moral standards.

Every parent, every student, and every concerned American must see this carefully documented film

Upper left: Old time Communist song writer Malvina Reynolds, writer of hit tune "The Ticky Tacky Song," visits Cal campus.

Upper right: Self-proclaimed Communist Bettina Aptheker, who recently polled highest number of votes in a campus-wide election, gives victory sign.

Middle left: Booth on campus promotes breakdown of morality.

Center: Yvonne Bond of the Communist Progressive Labor Party who raised money for the Fair Play For Cuba Committee to send students to Castro land.

Middle right: The Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club

who stole all the headlines in the Berkeley Anti-Viet Nam march of October 16, 1965

Bottom left: Leaders of protest march, l. to r., Syd Stapleton of Communist Young Socialist Alliance, Robert Scheer of Center For Democratic Studies, and the Fair Play For Cuba Committee, Mike Myerson, honorary nephew of Ho Chi Minh and Communist DuBois Clubber, who wears a Vietcong cap and ring made from a downed American aircraft. Frank Herzog, co-ordinator of revolutionary organizations, and Mike Rossman, Cal math teacher and member of Communist DuBois Clubs.

Bottom right: Peace Sign — means end of war to the American public but to the revolutionaries means the end of resistance to Communism.

mathematics department with respect to how he hoped the Viet Cong would win the war. That's quoted here on the flyleaf.

For instance, to read,

The documentary film makes public never-before-shown evidence concerning Communist impact on America's college campuses, authenticated by a report of the California State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities. "The Berkeley Revolution" is produced and directed by best-selling author Bill Richardson and written by Gary Allen, author of Civil Rights, U.S.A. It shows how a small hard core of revolutionaries has almost virtually captured our nation's largest university in a movement that is spreading across our land.

Well, behind this, of course, was the Burns Committee, the two reports. I won't take time to put those into the record. If you wanted to expand this, it could be done.

This sort of thing was very important, finally, in Reagan's victories, because he was running anti-University, and this film was shown heavily in southern California as well as elsewhere, but especially in southern California. Undoubtedly, many people believed that the Communists were taking over the University, especially in Berkeley.

[resumes reading from flyer on film]

How do the Communists influence and recruit American youth, the majority of whom have no sympathy for Communism? "The Berkeley Revolution" exposes the role of the educational institution, the faculty, and the hardcore nonstudent revolutionary in leading students to reject their family, their country, their religion, and their moral standards.

Nathan: About how long a film was it?

Grether: It's thirty minutes. I'm trying to find a copy someplace, and I'd like to have it rerun. Clark Kerr has never seen it, for example.

Fusion of Two Rebellions

Grether: Another special aspect of the Berkeley situation was the merging of two sets of forces. One you might call the academic rebellion; the other you might call the political force for rebellion. I didn't realize some of this myself until (it's amazing how you tumble onto these accidentally) the meeting of the Kosmos Club. It was called to my attention that Nevitt Sanford had been working with some students in the summer of '64 and with the Department of Psychology, especially with Bradford Cleveland. The students had prepared what they would call a plan for an academic revolution, an attack upon University administration and standards. I asked Ed Strong about this, and he said, "Yes. Sherriffs, after all, was in that department. We were aware of this fact, so we were in touch with that."

Then, you may recall, way back, but further, there was the whole Slate development on the campus, which had a strong leftwing orientation; at least that was my impression. So there was a lot astirring, and there was a lot of criticism.

Clark Kerr himself has pointed out--in fact, predicted--that there would be problems at the undergraduate level in American universities because the undergraduates felt they were not getting proper attention, and so this was stirring. Then, after September 14, you get the Free Speech Movement on the political side, and these two, I think, coalesced finally and began running together. This is my impression. Do you think that makes sense?

Nathan: I do.

Grether: Yes. Because you've been into this and into other cases also. So this seems to me why there was more momentum here than there might have been if these had remained separate, but there was a fusion of forces here.

Urgency, and a Doomsday Syndrome

Grether: Then there was another aspect that I found very difficult to understand. Maybe you have some light upon it. That was the high sense of urgency, especially in '64, out here in the plaza. I'd go out there and listen and talk to students sometimes. I remember once talking to a group of them. I said, "Look, you're asking the University to do impossible things. The University isn't organized to do the things that you want, and you want them now. What's the urgency?" I remember one girl said, "We won't be here next year," which is true; they're transients. This is a very important aspect. And, increasingly, Berkeley students tend to be short-term students: "We've got to have it now."

But underneath this, I think, was something else. I want to try it on you. I think there got to be almost a doomsday type of mentality, frightened by the nuclear bomb threat, you see, and by the whole nuclear development. There were seminars on our campus--I could see our students getting involved and then looking wild--where they were told how the air's polluted, pesticides are poisoning the foods, and so on, on and on, and that in maybe three or four years we won't be here because of combinations of deleterious environmental forces bearing upon us. There was something that was in the whole atmosphere. I call it maybe a doomsday syndrome. Is that right? Do you think so?

Nathan: Well, this is very interesting. I think what you are describing was certainly true, and there was also a tendency to believe that governmental reforms were never going to succeed.

Grether: And there's some evidence to look at. Looking backward now, you--

Nathan: One can't say that they were off the mark.

Grether: That's right. Now, look at the conservative movement against government now. It's tremendous, as you know.

Nathan: But that's from the right.

Grether: Yes, but it's here. It's growing and gaining in strength here. People didn't want to have children; why bring kids into this kind of a world, you see?

Police or Sheriff's Deputies##

Nathan: Perhaps you recall a poster that was presumed to be the picture of a Selma, Alabama, policeman who was very grossly overweight, and the picture made him look extremely brutal. The students were talking in terms of Berkeley police being like Selma police. Of course, there are very great differences now, and there were then. Had you come across any of that?

Grether: Well, last night I talked to Don McLaughlin on the phone about this period. I discovered that he'd been in Sproul Hall, as I mentioned a few minutes ago. He said he saw no police brutality. The CHP were very well behaved from his point of view, and he said the Berkeley police and the campus police were, too. But later on, when the Alameda County people came in, that was different.

Nathan: The Alameda County sheriff's deputies?

Grether: That's right. That was different, he said. They disliked students to begin with, and they were, as he put it, trigger-happy to some extent.

Nathan: That's interesting.

Grether: My impression is that during this period what we called the California loyalty and spirit disappeared. It seemed to. For instance, students wouldn't attend the athletic contests. They wouldn't live in the fraternities. I know I had grandkids in the University system; they wouldn't go anywhere near the fraternities that their parents had lived in. They took a very scornful view of a lot of things, and they liked rock and roll [laughter], and the whole environment seemed to be different.

Now, this apparently was true also in the high schools. I don't know whether you've read this book, What Really Happened to the Class of 1965.

Nathan: No, I haven't.

Grether: I can't pronounce the names of the authors, but you can write them down if you want to.

Nathan: Michael Medved and David Wallechinsky.

Grether: They wrote this to make some money. They were members of that class. Now, you see, Time had run a feature story using the Palisades High School as an outstanding high school, and in their story they ran pictures and told about some of the students. Well, now, these boys ten years later went out and interviewed all those same people, took tape recordings, and it's one of the saddest things you ever saw in your life, what's happened to some of these kids in the class of 1965. I won't put that in the record, because it's available to anybody who wants to read it.

For example, here was a girl who was probably one of the brightest girls in the class. She, of course, went to Stanford. She was a class valedictorian type. She appeared out here in the People's Park episode, sitting in rags, filth, and full of drugs. There are other examples of how careers went awry, so to speak.

I couldn't resist, so I wrote to the high school principal and asked him about this: "Is this a good book?" He said, "Well, it's written to make some money, and they made some money." But, as far as I could tell, it's done carefully, more so than the original story published on the high school.

I asked him some questions, and I think some of this is worth recording. I asked, "What were high school students like ten years ago?"

[He answered] In 1965, most college-bound students were trying to figure out what to do with their lives. In 1976, most college-bound high school students are trying to figure out how to make a living. There has been a definite swing back to enjoying high school years, and some of the old-time fun activities (for example, the senior prom, senior picnic, and so forth) have become very popular again. For example, in 1971 we had no senior prom. In 1976 over 800 students attended one. In many ways, students have become more conservative.

This is ten years later. I asked him about social values, and he said he's not too sure about this. He said, "Sexual

mores, clothing styles, hair styles, music, and so forth, all change. The pill certainly has liberated the young female sexually."

Then he says something that I wish I could believe. Maybe he's right, though.

There is one thing that never seems to change, and that is the kind of a teacher that high school students truly respect and admire, and the kind of qualities that the master teacher displays, regardless of age, sex, race, or physical attraction, have not changed one iota down through the years. The master teacher at Palisades High School today would have been just as respected and admired at Glendale High School in the 30s, at Fremont High School in the 50s (inner city), at Van Nuys High School in the 60s, or at Palisades High School in the 1970s.

In other words, enormous respect, you see, for the quality and the role of the good teacher.

Well, if this is true, then there was a problem, obviously, because the undergraduate students were part of the ferment going on on the campus, too. They felt they were not getting the attention they deserved, and this apparently was a factor down in the high school situation also.

Do you have any questions to where we are now? Because now I want to get down to the end of the line.

Nathan: No, I think this all goes together very well.

Grether: Okay.

The Fateful Week (1964)

Grether: Well, now I want to get to the fateful week of December 1 to 8, 1964. I'll skip all those things in between because they're so clearly in the record, unless you have questions.

But this was one of the most dramatic and emotional and tense weeks in my experience. In fact, I still feel stunned. It's like Hitler's Germany. It's like some of the Depression period situations we saw. It was so jam-packed with emotion on this campus, in the student body, among the faculty, and in the entire community.

You will recall that it all began in this sit-in in Sproul Hall, which followed what I think was a mistake, very likely. The administration decided to bring action against some of the leaders. It had been thought earlier that this would not take place, and this brought more support to the FSM group, which apparently had weakened very much to that point. This led then to the meeting in the plaza where finally Joan Baez sang and Savio made his very famous speech and led the students into Sproul Hall, where they stayed overnight. Then the governor sent in the California Highway Patrol, and a lot of students went limp and had to be dragged out because they wouldn't walk out. That's all a matter of record.

But it's very difficult to get a feeling for and to put together the whole sequence of events. The campus practically came to a standstill as far as classwork was concerned. I recall I was going to my seminar, and one of my students (he's now on the faculty; he was in the seminar) stopped me and said, "Are you going to hold your class?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Well, I won't be there." You see, this was the temper. Professor Glaser had Wheeler Auditorium for a classroom, and he turned it over to a faculty meeting, ad hoc, and several hundred faculty members appeared to discuss problems.

During this week, as well as at other times, there were all sorts of efforts by people to find solutions, find a way out of the difficulties. People were, I think, honestly sincere. You had what I'd call a rise and decline of faculty leadership. Someone would have an idea, and he'd try it, and it didn't seem quite good enough.

Now, the most dramatic of all was when the chairmen of the departments met separately from the chancellor and developed a program that they said would resolve the crisis. (I don't have it with me; if it's important we could put it in the record, but it's readily available.) They took this to Clark Kerr. He then took it to a special meeting of the Board of Regents, or at least some of the Regents. They

didn't like it very well, but he succeeded in getting them to agree to it.

Then the famous meeting occurred in the Greek Theatre. The whole campus was brought in to hear the settlement that had been worked out. Bob Scalapino of the Political Science Department was the leader of the group of chairmen; the settlement was presented there, and Kerr accepted it. Throughout all of this there was some hissing and booing in the audience. It was clear that some of the students didn't like it, but it had appeared that this might be the basis for restoring peace to the campus. A lot was at stake here.

Now, Kerr had issued orders that there should be no police, especially uniformed police. Somebody violated his orders. The rumor is that it was Earl Bolton, who was vice president in this area--that he was worried about it and felt it necessary. In any event, Savio was sitting there a few steps away. When the meeting was over, he rushed to the microphone, and he wanted to have his turn. The police grabbed him, and this led to the scuffle, so the whole audience saw Savio being dragged off. This put the fat right back into the fire again, you see.

Nathan: Was this perhaps a calculated episode?

Grether: Oh, I suspect so. What he said was that he just wanted to make an announcement that they were going to have a student meeting now in the plaza. That meeting did occur, you see.

This then led to the most emotional meeting, probably, in the history of the Academic Senate the following day. In the meantime there had been a group of faculty--two hundred of them, so they were sort of a middle group, on the whole--that had developed some ideas on what should be the procedures. The meeting of the senate on December 8 was to hear a report of the Committee on Academic Freedom, of which Joe Garbarino of our faculty was chairman. They presented their report, and there was tremendously heated discussion, but finally their report was adopted. I have it here. [holds up report] I don't know whether it's worth putting into the record.

Nathan: I think it should be.

Grether: All right. Let's do part of it.

[reading from report of the Academic Senate Committee on Academic Freedom] In order to end the present crisis, to establish the confidence and trust essential to the restoration of normal University life, and to create a campus environment that encourages students to exercise free and responsible citizenship in the University and in the community at large, the Committee on Academic Freedom of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate moves the following propositions. (I'm reading from the minutes of the Berkeley Division for that meeting.)

One: There shall be no University disciplinary measures against members of organizations of the University community for activities prior to December 8 connected with the current controversy over political speech and activity.

Two: That the time, place, and manner of conducting political activity on the campus shall be subject to reasonable regulations to prevent interference with the normal functions of the University; that the regulations now in effect for this purpose shall remain in effect provisionally, pending a future report of the Committee on Academic Freedom concerning the minimal regulations necessary.

Three: That the content of speech or advocacy shall not be restricted by the University. Off-campus student political activities shall not be subject to the University regulation. On-campus advocacy or organization of such activity shall be subject only to such limitations as may be imposed under Section 2, under time, place, and manner rules.

Four: That the future disciplinary measures in the area of political activity shall be determined by a committee appointed by and responsible to the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate. (But the Regents didn't grant that.)

Five: That the division urge the adoption of the foregoing policies and call on all members of the University community to join with the faculty in its efforts to restore the University to its normal functions.

Well, there was enormous debate.

Nathan: Which was the one that you said the Regents did not accept?

Grether: Well, finally, this proposal to have the faculty take over these future disciplinary measures.

Nathan: Right.

Grether: You see, the faculty gave up this back in 1919-1920.

Well, this was adopted 824 to 115, an overwhelming vote, and all of this discussion was piped to students who sat outside listening.

Nathan: Yes, I remember hearing that. I was there.

Grether: You were there, too?

Nathan: Yes.

Grether: When the faculty came out they were cheered by the students; they were heroes, because the students liked this report. The FSM considered these recommendations a great victory, you see, for them. They're still an open question. Some people say that this was really a recommendation of the so-called Committee of Two Hundred that the Academic Freedom Committee presented on their behalf. I've asked every member of the senate committee--I know them all--and they say no, there were two members of their committee who belonged to the Committee of Two Hundred, there were two who didn't, and there was a swing man in between. This was their own report. It happened to be almost identical with what the larger group was recommending, but it was their independent report. I think that's undoubtedly true. But as of the time, you see, there was undoubtedly a great deal of interaction here, and similarity.

When you look at this, in a sense it brings things to a very fine culmination. Take Item Two: "...the time, place,

and manner of conducting political activity...shall be subject to reasonable regulations." I mentioned that earlier. You have to have some regulations, access to facilities.

1959 Regulations and a Speech by Jimmy Hoffa

Grether: I might interject here just one example from my experience when I was still dean. In the spring of 1959 one of our student organizations recommended that Jimmy Hoffa be asked to speak on the campus. At that time, the existing regulations required that the chairman of the department give approval and that a senior member of the faculty preside at the meeting. Well, I knew this was going to be a highly controversial meeting. Lloyd Ulman agreed to be chairman, so I approved it. I'd hardly approved it before we got a call that Hoffa wanted to bring 150 teamsters, or some large number of teamsters, on the campus with him. I said, "Absolutely not. This is not a forum for the teamsters. This is a meeting with the students. You can bring a small number." I knew they always had bodyguards. [laughter] So he didn't bring his teamsters.

The meeting had hardly convened when a call came to the chancellor's office that a bomb was planted in the room. Well, the chancellor at that time, Glenn Seaborg, was an authority on bombs, big bombs [laughter], so he didn't panic. They made a quick check, and the meeting continued.

Nathan: How large a meeting was it?

Grether: Oh, it was a packed hall, whatever the hall was. It was not Wheeler Auditorium. I think it was one of the larger halls--Dwinelle Hall, most likely. Ulman said that it was quite a routine type of thing. The speech was not overly exciting. It was a very packed meeting because Hoffa was a very exciting figure as of that time. But this, in a sense, indicates the problem.

In the meantime I'd gone to Sweden and then on to Russia, so I wasn't there. I stopped Ulman in the hall the other day to refresh our memories on it. This is what we had to go through, you see, to get these kinds of approvals and controls over access to the campus facilities.

Regents, Chancellor, and President

Grether: Then this finally culminates (and then I think we'll be through for the day, unless you have questions) in the Regents' meetings in Los Angeles, December 16, 17, and 18. By this time, of course, the Regents had this [indicates report of Committee on Academic Freedom] before them. Also, at this same meeting an Emergency Executive Committee had been elected and sent to represent it so it could take action quickly.

Nathan: This was a Senate Executive Committee?

Grether: Yes. The Berkeley Senate had elected an Emergency Executive Committee. Cheit, by the way, was a member of that. Arthur Ross--I think I forgot to mention him earlier--was chairman. He was also from our faculty. He left us eventually to go to Washington and then to the University of Michigan, where he became a vice president, and he deceased there.

Now, there were three sets of meetings of the Regents in Los Angeles. On Wednesday evening they met at dinner. Then after dinner the chancellors and Angus Taylor and I, as chairman and vice chairman of the Statewide Assembly, were asked to meet with them to discuss the Berkeley situation. Things went along, chancellors reporting on the situation on their campuses. Then Ed Strong took the occasion to hit hard at Clark Kerr, and this is what the whole set of materials that I've read assembled in his office indicates; how he felt that Kerr was interfering with his efforts to enforce discipline on the campus.

The Kerr side of the story is: What do you do when you're president, and you get the brunt of it, and things are happening? So Kerr, you see, got into the act during that car episode--October 2, wasn't it?--and finally negotiated with the students and got out of it. Many people criticized that; that is, that he should never have negotiated with them, and he should have called the troops in at that point.

In any event, there was always this problem back and forth as to the nature of the relationships between the Chancellor's Office and the President's Office, especially on the Berkeley campus, with the president living in

Berkeley and being a former chancellor and knowing the Berkeley campus.

Nathan: Kerr had been where--in Japan or something when this was cooking?

Grether: And Strong had been in Hawaii. Alex Sherriffs had set this up, and as I get it from the Katherine Towle memoir, she did not like it at all. She would not have done this, but she was pretty much forced into it, wasn't she?

Nathan: Well, my recollection is that she was told at times not to talk to the students. So again there is a communications question between various branches of the administration and between administration people and students.

Sherriffs' Views

Grether: I have in my materials here the agenda for the September 16 meeting of the Chancellor's Administrative Advisory Committee, Berkeley campus. Dow Votaw was representing us then as dean or acting dean, and he gave it to me from his files, so I know it's official. The agenda's a long one. There's no reference to this action on removing the tables, but he lists some items that came up casually at the end of the meeting, and it was mentioned that these tables were being removed; that was all, no discussion of it in the group as a whole. Now, there may have been a great deal of discussion on the part of Sherriffs, you see, beforehand, but Sherriffs recommended this action. Strong had been away in Hawaii; when he came back, he went along with this decision.

Incidentally, to me one of the great mysteries in all of this is Alex Sherriffs. Kerr, I think, feels the same way. He was assistant to Kerr in the area of student affairs. He did very well. He'd been a popular teacher, and he was a psychologist, you see, trained, and it was an obvious thing. Then Seaborg made him vice chancellor, and then Strong continued this appointment.

During this period, since I knew these meetings were coming up, I asked Sherriffs if he would come out and talk to me. He came out to the house, but he said, "Only under

one condition; that is, there is no record made." I'm sorry I agreed to that, because there is nothing in my files. Usually I would have violated even this [chuckles], but he said, "No, I wouldn't come otherwise," so I have nothing in my files at all. But what I have in my memory is the picture of a frightened man who said that he was getting all sorts of telephone calls threatening his life. He was always submerged; he never was out in front. I asked Arleigh Williams if he got threats; he was the one out in front. He didn't get any threats, he said. But this was the image you have of that meeting, Sherriffs as a man who was worried for his own life under the violence of the situation. To me it's a bit of a mystery. Then he becomes Reagan's right-hand educational advisor, you see, with this unhappy background on the Berkeley campus.

The Sit-in and Regents' Meeting

Grether: Well, to go into these meetings of the Regents, the Wednesday night meeting was to discuss the Berkeley situation off the record, and Chancellor Strong took this occasion to make a direct attack on the president and ask for enforcement of discipline on the Berkeley campus. Angus Taylor and I took the opposite view.

Nathan: Did you have an opportunity to speak?

Grether: Yes, we spoke also, and Angus first, of course, as chairman.

Nathan: And on what basis did you express your views?

Grether: With all this background, what I said, as I recall it, was that as of the present situation it would be catastrophic to do what Ed Strong recommended. It was too late. If there ever was a time when it would have been good advice, it was not now, because with 800 students having gone into the sit-in and being brought out bodily, that image, the whole campus observing this, Berkeley observing it--I can still see Catharine Blaisdell with tears streaming down her face, watching this, you see--the emotional reaction to this. This had brought a tremendous amount of support now back into this movement again. The kind of action that was being recommended there, both Angus and I warned strongly against.

Fortunately, also, that Academic Council which he chaired had done the same thing, and their report's published here [indicates document], and it could be available for the record. Also, the Academic Council and Angus and I personally urged the Regents to listen to the Emergency Executive Committee. They didn't want to hear them, but I think thirteen Regents met with them and heard them for a couple of hours to get the views of the Emergency Executive Committee of the Berkeley Academic Senate. So we felt we had been in a position to be helpful there.

Now, the following night the Regents had their own dinner meeting in preparation for the open meeting on Friday afternoon. Harry Wellman, Ed Strong, Angus Taylor and I, and Earl Bolton were asked to be available, so we had to have dinner in a private meeting outside, available on call if our advice was desired. We were not called in, none of us; not one of us.

After midnight sometime--Angus Taylor also keeps a record, and he said it was 12:45; anyway, it was after midnight--Clark Kerr came in and asked us, two of us, to step out. I've never seen a man look so tired. He looked beat, and he reported that things were going very badly. There was a tremendous amount of acrimony. Angus's notes indicate also that Kerr said, "On Monday morning, there may well be either a new acting chancellor or a new acting president in the University." That is, that's the way it looked after midnight.

Then the Regents met the afternoon before their regular session to take action, and it was a very packed room; that room is very small down at UCLA, where the meeting was. I was sitting once removed from Ed Strong; I've forgotten who was in between us. But we were there, again, in case there was any call for us.

Then something happened in that meeting that, to me, in view of the background, is almost a miracle. This was the resolution that was adopted and distributed to the faculty. [hands interview document] Do you want to have it in the record?

Nathan: Yes.

Grether: All right. [reading from resolution]:

To the faculty of the University of California, by unanimous action of the Board of Regents, taken on December 18, 1964. One: The Regents express appreciation to the Academic Council of the Universitywide Senate for its constructive proposals and analysis of recent developments and welcome the continuing discussion taking place in the division of the Academic Senate on the several campuses.

Two: The Regents reaffirm faith in the faculty and student body of the University and express the conviction that this great academic community is in the process of finding the means to combine freedom with responsibility.

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Grether: Then Three comes next:

Three: The Regents respect the convictions held by a large number of students concerning civil rights and individual liberties.

Four: The Regents reaffirm devotion to the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution and note that University policies introduced in recent years have liberalized the rules governing expression of opinion on campus. The support of all the University community is essential to provide maximum individual freedom under law consistent with the educational purposes of the University.

Now, this outcome was unbelievable. Ed Strong reached over and shook hands with me at that point, as if to say, "Well, you won."

Nathan: So there is not a punitive word in this?

Grether: No, no, no. It was an amazing thing, from my point of view, you see.

I understand there was a meeting of some of the Regents that morning in Elinor Heller's suite, and maybe something happened there. But also, judging from my conversation with Don McLaughlin last night, it may be that Kerr misread the night before a bit. That is, he said Fred Dutton was kicking up pretty heavily, and there was a lot of interest, too; there was very lively discussion, a lot of acrimony. But I don't know; anyway, Kerr was certainly down, very much in the depths at 10:45 a.m. Of course, that was a long, heavy session.

Well, I think, unless you have questions that's enough for one session. Do you have any follow-ups you'd like to ask?

Nathan: Either now or later, would it be desirable to get some of your ideas on how the University has or has not changed as a result of these convulsions in the 60s? Are there long-term changes, reforms, or just other kinds of changes that you could trace as stemming from these activities?

Grether: Oh, I think so. But I think it might be better to raise this question again after we've finished the story. Now, the finishing of the story, of course, is the firing of Clark Kerr and so on.

Academic Senate Meetings: Emotional Tone

Grether: To me the most difficult aspect of all of this was that December 8 meeting of the Academic Senate. I've never seen anything like it. I had a speech in my pocket, by the way. I discovered Harry Wellman had a paper that Clark Kerr had given him to read at that meeting, and I talked to faculty members who said, "'Yes, we had papers in our pockets, too.'" But nobody read them, because the emotion was so high, you see. It was clear that it was not a day for ordinary, mundane [chuckles] types of speechmaking. Only a few people had spoken. It was an exceedingly tense situation. Then, when they walked out, to have the students out there applauding, you see--

Nathan: You spoke of the numbers of faculty members who had participated in the different groups and different meetings.

Prior to that, for the Academic Senate and its committees, had people come to the meetings?

Grether: Well, during that period, yes.

Nathan: Before that period how was it?

Grether: The normal thing is for these meetings to be poorly attended, but then there were hundreds coming to these meetings, and that continued in the next period.

Emergence of the Bizarre

Grether: Oh, I might add this. There was a meeting the next year. I think Arthur Kip of physics was the chairman. I remember this because some of the students would sneak into these meetings, and I was sitting in the back. I had no role; I was sitting there merely as a member of the senate. The girl sitting beside me had a monkey on her shoulder. [laughter] That's literally true, yes. It's hard to believe.

The most dramatic thing was that the meeting had hardly started before who comes down the aisle? Charlie Brown. Do you remember Charlie Brown? [a robed man who appeared frequently on campus and the streets of Berkeley]

Nathan: Yes, I do.

Grether: Here he is with his brown robe, coming marching down the aisle. Someone gets up in the front row and points to Charlie Brown and says to Kip, "Do you see who's coming down the aisle?" and raises the question, "What's he doing here?"

So Kip said, "What are you doing here?" or something; he asked him. Charlie Brown said, "Well, isn't the press allowed here?" Kip said, "Yes. What press do you represent?" Brown said, "I represent the Richmond Independent." So he was allowed to stay, and so he sat in that meeting.

Here was this girl with a monkey on her shoulder, and the whole thing was just bizarre. It was a bizarre business. Art Ross of our faculty made his report, and while he was talking this monkey got excited for a while, and then all of a sudden I guess it got too boring and the monkey went to sleep, fortunately [laughter], so I could hear.

But what this indicates is the bizarre nature of what was going on, especially when you mix nonstudents into it also, like Charlie Brown, you see, coming into this meeting.

Nathan: That reminds me of a noontime in the plaza where people gathered from Telegraph Avenue and other areas. There had been a march planned, and it was called off. I heard a number of people say, "Well, what'll we do today?"

Grether: [laughter] Yes.

Incidentally, it's worth recording that any major university center has nonstudents and bizarre characters of this sort. It seems to be typical. They tend to gravitate around campuses. Searle in his book speaks of these people as sort of having a home, the University being a home for them after they leave the campus or after they're dismissed. This is true of a lot of people who live around the campus.

One of the sad things right now--my wife was reading this in the paper yesterday--is that since they closed down the state hospitals, Berkeley is full of people who are borderline cases that are not quite bad enough to be hospitalized. They come and live in this area, and they're a problem on the street. One of our granddaughters had to give up two places, rooms where she'd rented, because she found that there were people of this sort that she was very uncomfortable about. So this is a very difficult problem now in the present mix.

Nathan: Yes. Is it really not a University problem so much as a statewide problem, in a sense?

Grether: Well, but my point is that they gravitate towards a university center where there are facilities available to them. Also, Berkeley is so broadly tolerant, so people tend to come here when they aren't comfortable in some other quarters. In fact, this has been one of the nice

characteristics of Berkeley, its broad tolerance, but it does create problems.

And, of course, as you've noticed, People's Park has revived again. That keeps coming up, and this time the students won again. That is, they're not going to put in--

Nathan: Parking? That was the plan?

Grether: Yes.

But one feels--at least I feel--very, very uncomfortable in trying to satisfy myself as to the meaning of a lot of the things that we've been observing in this area.

Nathan: Do you think we have a mind set that calls for cause and effect, and maybe there are just erratic happenings, too?

Grether: I think there are a lot of what you call erratic happenings, but--well, that is a question we ought to discuss. You know, one answer is that there was a broad Communist conspiracy. That's the Burns Committee and the Berkeley film answer, and I just can't accept that, especially because this was worldwide. You see, so many of the simple views that there was a Communist conspiracy focused on Berkeley as the target, and then it spread out.

It's true that what happened here did influence what happened elsewhere at other universities, but all of this was participating in a much broader set of relationships and forces. Japan was worse than here, you see. Tokyo University, I guess, was captured for a couple of years, wasn't it?

Nathan: And, of course, politicizing of universities has been true, hasn't it, in South America?

Grether: Oh, much more so than here. Yes, that's right. We don't want it to happen; we want our universities to function well. So there is a very real problem. I guess we agree that it was not simply a Berkeley phenomenon, but there were certain peculiarities in the Berkeley situation that gave it a kind of a flavor here.

My feeling is, by the way, that one reason we came through this as well as we did is because of the Academic Senate--in spite of all that happened here, the fact that

there was a systematic vehicle for expression, campuswide and statewide, for the faculty. Look how important it is in this Regents' meeting here, you see.

Nathan: Very crucial.

Grether: Yes, yes. Of course, I've been a strong senate member anyway; I like the senate approach. I think this has been a very, very important aspect of our situation in the state.

Nathan: So the mechanisms have certain value?

Grether: I think so, yes.

Nathan: That's very interesting.

Grether: Is that enough for today, do you think?

Nathan: You always have something interesting to say, but I don't want to wear you out.

Grether: Well, we've worked almost three hours now.

Nathan: Yes. Well, we're doing very well. All right, then, let's look forward to the Kerr years.

Grether: Two weeks from today, is it?

Nathan: Sounds fine.

Grether: Good.

[Interview 23: December 14, 1979]##

Nathan: Have we any things that have developed since we last talked that you'd like to pick up?

Grether: Well, unfortunately both you and I and the University and the whole community have suffered two very tragic losses; that is, the passing, within three days of each other, of Walter Haas and Daniel Koshland, although in a sense one should not call these tragic passings, because both led full lives, as you know because you handled their interviews, and as I know from very long contact with both of the men. They have both appeared in our discussions in the past, and I've

been asked to write something about both of them for the California Monthly, the February issue.

Nathan: That's really good.

Grether: I'd like to have your help on that, because I know you know a great deal.

Nathan: Well, you did such a splendid introduction, particularly to the Levi Strauss memoir, that you have a very good basis.

Grether: Yes, I do have, but there are other things that I'd like to pursue with you at some time when we get the opportunity.

Another thing that happened of a quite different sort is that--you know, my wife saves Christmas cards, and she was going through some of these, going back a good many years, and she found this collection of cards from the Galbraiths when he was ambassador [to India]. [shows interviewer cards]

Nathan: Oh, it's like a tiny album.

Grether: It is like an album. It begins with a statement on the front of how "The practice of modern diplomacy requires a close understanding not only of governments but also of people. I therefore hope that you will plan your work that you may have the time to travel extensively outside the nation's capital." This is the President of the United States to the chiefs of missions, May 29, 1961.

So this [chuckles], with Galbraithian humor, depicts their travel around India--in fact, by elephant, by steam yacht (see, Galbraith's wife is Kitty, you know), by manpowered marine, with this ordinary boat, by what he calls "a special Zug or train," with him as the engineer, you see. [laughter]

Nathan: Every boy's dream.

Grether: Every boy's dream, that's right. Look at this cross-country hiking gear. [indicating illustration on card] Who's that? You can recognize her, can't you?

Nathan: Oh, Jackie--

Grether: Jackie Kennedy.

Nathan: Jackie Kennedy, looking particularly elegant in evening dress.

Grether: In formal evening gown.

Nathan: Marvelous.

Grether: And something Edwardian, the stagecoach, and here is traveling by air. [indicating figures in illustration] That is clearly Galbraith, but that is neither Kitty nor Jacqueline, and it says, "Titus 115," and Titus 115 says, "Everything is pure to those who are themselves pure." [laughter]

Nathan: Delightful. They're sort of sleeping on the seat. And how Galbraith has to accordion himself in that position. [laughter]

Grether: Yes. That's in '68. He can't quite make it there. [turning pages of card to show more illustrations] And underground. And there's what he called "negotiated passage"--that is, with a taxicab driver. "Terpsichorean progress." There, that's Kitty there, by the way (dancing). And "journey's end"; there is the home of the ambassador. The last one shows Galbraith on New Year's Eve. [laughter]

Nathan: He is sort of flaked out, isn't he. He's absolutely dead to the world.

Grether: That's right. But this is a good example of the Galbraithian irrepressible humor. That's a very nice souvenir. Have you read his Ambassador's Journal?

Nathan: No. I should do that.

Grether: Oh, you do that. I used to keep it beside my bed and read a few pages every night. It has this combination also. But to me the prize comment in that was about one of his fellow ambassadors whom he characterizes as "having a closed mind and an open fly." [laughter]

Also, Wheeler went out to the people of the state and did a superb job of selling the University, gathering them around, you see; this is their University and they should take pride in it. He built what we called last time the California spirit. On the campus, he held University Meetings, for example, gathered the students and the faculty around, did the same thing, you see. He had this type of ability.

But most important, he assembled in Berkeley a tremendous collection of people, good people, and this is what set the pattern for the next round. At the end of his administration he remarked, "It is time now for the faculty to be brought into participation." He was aware of this.

Kerr: An Interrupted Job

Grether: This is what I mentioned, and I think it bears upon what we are going to do today because we're going to look at Clark Kerr, basically, and his dismissal, and what went on as I saw it, because I did have a role, which I'd like to discuss, in all of this.

Nathan: I wonder, too, if you would perhaps allude to the fact that he was really the first Berkeley chancellor before becoming president.

Grether: Yes, yes. That's important also. But I think the most important thing is that I'm confident that if Clark Kerr had been allowed to finish his job, the same thing that I remarked about Benjamin Ide Wheeler would have been said about him, and maybe it will anyway, because even despite the dismissal he had made an enormous contribution to the University.

Emergence of the Statewide University

Grether: Now, why? Because the statewide University was emerging under Sproul, but Sproul had all this happen around him and through him, and he couldn't let loose, but it was emerging

and getting out of control. As often happens, by the way, in the history of organizations, in this kind of a situation they look for a different type of administrator or leader. Clark Kerr had, in my view, the right combination for this situation.

You may recall the figures we discussed last time. By 1950, Berkeley was only half of the University. From there on, Berkeley became less and less in proportion, but also the statewide University boomed. Between 1960 and 1970, the critical years for our purposes, the statewide University's enrollment went way ahead of the growth of the population of the state. In other words, this was a major move forward on the part of the University, and most of this took place under Clark Kerr's administration and then, unfortunately, ran into the troubles that we will discuss.

Even so, when you consider the combination of problems inside and then outside, and the Master Plan, which he fostered--

Nathan: He was very active?

Grether: Oh, yes. Very active. Now, it's true, the bill bears the name of Miss Dorothy Donohoe, who handled that, and she is very important. But within the system of higher education, Clark Kerr threw his full weight behind getting some order into higher education in the State of California. And you will recall how, when we discussed Texas, they have not done that as yet; in fact, they take pride in not having done it [chuckles] in contrast with what was going on here.

This is the thing. I hope you'll work with me. As we advance, I'd like to portray why I take this view.

Nathan: Good.

Grether: Now, the last time we ended, as I recall it, with the meetings of the Regents, December 14, 15, and 16, 1964, in Los Angeles, when the Regents passed this very fine resolution expressing confidence in the faculty and students and so on of the University.

Nathan: Right.

Grether: This looked like it might set the basis for moving forward more peacefully, but actually it didn't work out.

Now, if we looked at the record as a whole, we'd be here a week and, after all, we already have too many pages. So let me, if you don't mind, Harriet, just indicate what I think were some of the most important developments the next year or two that led finally to Clark Kerr's dismissal, and I'd like to go into that in considerable detail.

Student Discipline re: Political Action

Grether: One of the issues in the whole '64 problem was the access to the campus and the nature of that access. The Regents appointed a committee under Ted Meyer, who that next year became chairman of the board. It was a very powerful committee that brought in a report in April, 1965, which worked through the whole problem of student organizations, the use of University facilities, political action, and so on, in very great detail. They redrafted all of the regulations. Now, this is available and could be put in if you wish.

The thing that I think is critical in it was the fact that they did not go along with the specific recommendation of the faculty in their famous December 8 meeting of the Academic Senate in Berkeley, when they asked that the faculty be allowed to handle the cases of student discipline arising out of political action. All of this was lodged with the chancellors--in other words, with the administration.

Nathan: So that power, then, was an administrative power and not a faculty power?

Grether: That's right. And you may recall that I felt this was a mistake the faculty made in the famous revolution of 1919-20; they backed out of handling student discipline. And now, when they wanted it back again, it was not given to them.

Demand for Action and Threatened Resignations

Grether: Just before the Meyer Committee report, however, was the famous episode of Clark Kerr and Martin Meyerson resigning, or at least threatening to resign.

Nathan: Now, Meyerson was acting chancellor, right?

Grether: Acting chancellor. He'd been brought in to work with Ed Strong, first as a top assistant. Actually, the way it was handled, he would have really done most of the work. Strong was shelved, and then he resigned, disappeared, and Meyerson was the acting chancellor.

What happened apparently was that there was a "filthy speech" episode.

Nathan: I remember that, yes.

Grether: I think this was overblown, but anyway it aroused tremendous outcry. Apparently the chairman of the Board of Regents called either Kerr or Meyerson or both of them (I guess called Kerr) and said he wanted some action by that evening; otherwise, he'd call a special meeting of the Board of Regents. Kerr and Meyerson discussed it and decided they just couldn't, without going through their ordinary procedures, dealing with the faculty, investigation, and so on. So they handed in their resignations.

Now, this produced a big tempest for a few days in the University system. I was at a meeting of the Academic Senate down at Riverside, so I saw it down there. The various divisions passed resolutions asking the Regents not to accept these resignations, and after a few days it settled down again. There got to be some difference of opinion as to what really happened, and I think only the parties who were immediately involved can say. For example, Regent Carter, who was chairman, said he did not really intend that this should be taken as it was taken; it was a misunderstanding.

In any event, the thing blew over eventually, but it hurt. It hurt especially with some Regents who felt that Kerr had not consulted with them. As a matter of fact, he told me later that it happened so quickly that his wife

didn't even know he'd resigned [laughter], because it was a thing that came up quickly and action had to be taken.

Nathan: Now, under most circumstances the Regents would hardly put that kind of time pressure on a president or a chancellor, would they?

Grether: No, no, no. So this indicates the temper of the period and the high emotion, that the chairman of the board would react this violently, you see, to what I think was overblown, when you think of it.

Nathan: And almost a prank.

Grether: Yes, yes, to begin with. Well, when you see what's happened since, it doesn't seem so significant. [chuckles] This hurt Kerr, though, and I think that's important for the record.

Nathan: Do you feel at all that it may have introduced the validity of resignation?

Grether: Yes, I'll get into that later. If I forget it, remind me. Eventually this question was raised in a very sensitive discussion that I handled for Kerr.

The Byrne Report: For Campus Autonomy

Grether: Then there was the Byrne Report. Now, the Regents had a special committee, and they had hired Jerome [C.] Byrne, an attorney from Southern California, to make a study of the causes of student unrest and make suggestions as to what to do about it. This report came in in April of 1965, and turned out to be a very amazing document because he did not really go along with the people who said there had been a great Communist conspiracy. In fact, he handled the students and this whole area very lightly and gingerly, and then went out of his way to recommend that each campus be made autonomous, with its own board of trustees or Regents; this was directed at autonomy. If you look at the whole report, it has some very curious things about it, and undoubtedly they exceeded the mandate of the committee. The gossip at the time was that he'd worked very closely with Franklin Murphy, chancellor at UCLA.

Nathan: That's interesting.

Grether: But the reason I mention all this is not to bring gossip, but to point out that there was a continuing problem of the relative freedom of each campus and each chancellor under the president. This was one of the problems which Kerr had to grapple with. And Franklin Murphy was, of course, very powerful. UCLA was growing very rapidly, and the southern part of the state always was feeling that it needed to get greater freedom and greater opportunity.

Nathan: It might be interesting, just for a moment, to remember that in previous similar situations virtually every report tended to move more toward autonomy, although not to this degree.

Grether: No, this was very much stronger than anything that had been recommended, to recommend autonomy to each campus. The gossip, too, is that this issue got to be rather acute during the oath period. In fact, it was suggested by one or two southern Regents, it is alleged, that if Sproul would have granted autonomy to, say, UCLA, the whole thing could have been settled. I don't know. This is gossip, you see.

Nathan: Isn't that interesting?

Grether: Yes. The University, by the way, is a highly political organization in the very nature of things, and they're always tugging and hauling, especially north and south. So this is an aspect of all of it. It's very difficult, because one never knows for certain what the play of these personal forces is.

Kerr's Proposal for Delegating Authority to Chancellors

Grether: Following this, there was a very important meeting, which I happened to attend (I think it was in Los Angeles) of the Board of Regents on June 20.

Nathan: May I ask how you happened to attend it?

Grether: Oh, I was vice chairman of the Statewide Academic Assembly and was on the way to becoming chairman, and the chairman

and vice chairman are asked to attend the meetings of the Board of Regents.

Now, at this meeting Clark Kerr presented one of his reports on the organization of the University. That spring he was presenting a series of reports on the organization, which meant really the reorganization of the University, with a heavy emphasis on delegation of authority to the campuses and to the chancellors. In this particular report the stress was on academic personnel, budget administration, and--I'm turning pages [of copy of Kerr's report] here-- handling of grants and contracts. What was being proposed was really very basic because, for example, the percentage of regular faculty personnel actions (that is, appointments and promotions that would be made by the chancellor) would increase from 42 percent to 99 percent on July 1, '68. The percentage of solicitations for grants and contracts would go from zero (the chancellors had no authority) to 98 percent. The percentage of budget transfers approved by the chancellors would go from zero to 98 percent.

Other aspects of decentralization were taking place. Now, I'd like to read two paragraphs of a letter I wrote to Kerr after this meeting, dated June 21, 1965:

Dear Clark,

I watched your superb performance last Thursday and Friday with very great interest and admiration.

(When I say Thursday and Friday--the Regents' committees meet on Thursday, and I attended both of them.)

So far as I could observe and from what I have heard, I think it is evident that things will steady down now at least for a period, and hopefully indefinitely.

I mentioned to Mrs. Chandler during one of the breaks that I agreed with her that this is an historic occasion. I would add for myself that it is probably a critical turning point in the history and development of the University. If

things go well from this point on, the University should continue moving forward along its historical pathway of high achievement.

I wrote this to Kerr because I felt he needed support so badly. Here's a good example. I got this little note back, which just happened to be attached. He never dated these notes, though, but in this case it happened to be attached to this letter. He said, "Thank you for your kind letter and all help this past year and all the other years."

Nathan: Well, that's very warm.

Grether: Yes, yes. Well, this is the kind of relationship we had, which I value very highly.

Burns Report and State and National Perspectives

Grether: This was very hopeful. Mrs. Chandler, who was from the south and was chairman of the board that year, you see, thought, "Now we're on our way. Something creative is happening in terms of the organization of the University." But it didn't turn out that way. Why? Well, another Burns Committee report appeared in June, 1965.

Nathan: This is Senator Hugh M. Burns?

Grether: Yes, Senator Burns. In which President Kerr was again accused as "welcoming Communist organizations through the portals of the University and opening the commencement to speakers and exhibits," accused of being tolerant of Communist activities and people and so on. Well, that is typical of these reports, but it was not helpful, appearing, you see, in June, 1965.

Nathan: Right. This was really an Un-American Activities--

Grether: --Committee Report. And I think that over the period of his tenure there were thirteen of these. [laughter]

Nathan: [dryly] Oh, what a help.

Grether: And, you recall, last time we talked about the "Berkeley Revolution" film, which did the same thing.

Nathan: Exactly.

Grether: Now, to put this in perspective, you see, the next year was the gubernatorial election. Then the Muscatine Report came along in the Berkeley faculty, and that's available. It's a very creative type of expression on the part of the faculty, suggesting creating a Board of Educational Development on the campus and so on.

That's so much for '65. Now I think it's important to realize that the Vietnam War began to make its impact upon the students and upon the whole scene, not only in Berkeley but nationally. When Charter Day, 1966, came along (it happened to be held on my birthday, by the way [chuckles]), the students demonstrated a bit with some anti-Vietnam demonstrations, and that evening there was a big affair in Harmon Gym. You may recall that. It was a bad affair; it got out of control. And this, of course, got a lot of publicity around the state.

Also, in the meantime Heyns had been appointed as chancellor, replacing Meyerson. Undoubtedly Meyerson lost his chance to be chancellor when he resigned with Kerr that time. He then went on to Buffalo and then on to the University of Pennsylvania.

Then, in November, Reagan was elected governor by an impressive margin over Brown, and part of his campaign was definitely and strongly anti-University and anti-Kerr. In fact, I think he said definitely he would try to get rid of Clark Kerr.

Navy Recruitment and a Student Strike

Grether: Then on November 30, 1966, there was this navy recruiting episode on the Berkeley campus which produced quite a brawl.

Nathan: Maybe you might describe it just in a sentence.

Grether: Well, the navy was recruiting, but there was some student agitation, and then Savio came along.

Nathan: Right. There was, as I recall, one of those little tables that was manned by navy personnel who were very evident in their uniforms.

Grether: That's right, that's right. Some students reacted. I think it was a girl at a table next to that or something. But, again, the details can be supplied.

The important thing is that Cheit, I think it was, who was executive vice chancellor (I think Heyns was away), called for help, the police came, and I think some students were arrested. But this action was taken rather promptly. That produced on the campus a student strike immediately--it looked like it might spread--on December 1, 1966.

And again you see the background; the Reagan election, this occurring in December, set a very bad background for the January meeting of the Board of Regents.

Incidentally, if I might digress a minute, I think this whole Iranian business on TV helps me understand what happened in the State of California.

Nathan: Oh, tell me.

Grether: I find I'm getting sick of seeing those Iranians. My guess is that the people of the state got sick of seeing student demonstrations on the TV in the state. Don't you suppose?

Nathan: That's very interesting. That's all you see.

Grether: Yes. It was always featured on TV, you see.

Nathan: And there was perhaps, do you think, a conscious use of TV by the students?

Grether: Oh, sure, some of them, yes; they waited for the TV people to arrive. [laughter] It was definitely a factor.

Now, here we get into a story that's never been told, and I want to be sure I tell it accurately, because I think it is so important here. With this background--let's see here; I want to follow my notes [paging through notes]--on November 23, Mrs. Stephenson, who was Clark Kerr's

secretary, called me and asked if Clark could come past my home about 6 o'clock on his way home, which he did. By the way, this was rather common, and it's one of the things that I take great pleasure in, because time and again Clark would drop past the house and sit down with the two of us, and he'd relax with ginger ale--he's one of the few people who can relax with ginger ale [laughter]--and we would have a very pleasant informal chat, maybe a few minutes, sometimes for a longer period. So I could often get a view of him that way that other people perhaps didn't have.

To Resign or Stay: Job Offers and Assessment of Faculty Support

Grether: He came past the house, and here's what he had in mind. He said he had been receiving a number of offers from around the country to leave the University. One was from the Carnegie Commission to direct a study of higher education. (Eventually he took this appointment, you know, of course.) He had other offers--for example, I think a \$100,000 professorship in the New York State system of higher education. There were some other places, and this was, under the circumstances, quite reasonable for other places to think they might steal the President of the University.

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Grether: He told me that in order to make up his mind he had been getting readings from chancellors and from Regents; that seven or eight chancellors had urged him strongly not to leave the University, and that one chancellor had told him he'd been offered the presidency by one of the Regents.

Well, things were going on then. He was aware of them going on underneath the surface. He'd had the readings from the Regents. Also, I think Harry Wellman had had some informal conversations with Regents. But Kerr didn't know for certain about the faculty, and he asked me if I could be helpful there. In making up his mind it was very important to him to know whether he would have faculty support if he remained, because he realized there would be troubles--troubled times. He didn't want to remain if he didn't have the support of the faculty and the students, but especially, in this case, the faculty.

He gave me some indications of what he was seeing. For example, at an informal dinner with the Regents and with Reagan, Reagan turned his back on him immediately. Also, one of the Regents made a toast to "the three new Regents, who will bring clean air into the University."

He knew that if he stayed on he would be subject to continual harassment. There was a block of Regents opposing him now. This happened to Sproul, too, you may recall. It was not big enough to unseat him, but there was a block there; it wouldn't take too much more for them, if things went wrong, to get the votes to unseat him. In any event, it would be a very difficult time.

Now, he asked me if I could find a way to get the view of the faculty. Well, I immediately thought of a way, and that is the Academic Council, Statewide, because that includes all the chairmen of all the divisions. It's the counterpart in the statewide organization of the Meeting of the Chancellors. In fact, it was Kerr's custom to consult both the Statewide Council, where he got the faculty view, and then the chancellors, where he got the administrative view, before he'd go to the Regents.

I called Adams, who had succeeded me as chairman of the council, a very fine man, indeed, and I happened to talk to him, I guess, on Thanksgiving Day. He checked around a bit, and he said, "Well, the best time would be to call a special meeting the night before the regular meeting." The regular meeting was to be held on December 14. So I checked back with Kerr and also with Wellman, and they thought this was a good idea. So Adams called a special dinner meeting of the Academic Council on December 13.

Nathan: Did it meet here at Berkeley?

Grether: No, in San Diego; I went to San Diego to attend this meeting. Before going, I again talked with Clark Kerr. I'm being very careful here, because I think this story has never been told, and I want to be sure it's told accurately. He told me what he wanted me to do was to ask them to forget about his interests, but in terms of the welfare of the University, would it be better for him to resign, as he was being urged to do by some Regents directly, or to stay on? If he stayed on, he didn't want to do it unless he'd have full faculty support, and so it was very important for him

to get this particular reading. I talked to Harry Wellman, too--we were all three good friends--and he felt it was important to get this reading. So I went down to this meeting. The chairmen of all the divisions were present.

Nathan: May I ask one thing? When the meeting was called, was there any agenda presented?

Grether: They were told what it was all about, but not in detail. Also, Clark insisted that this meeting be very confidential and that it lead to no action, which was important, because some of the chairmen wanted to go back and start some action right away. He told me to insist that nothing of that sort take place.

Now, all the chairmen of all the divisions were present except Forsham from San Francisco, but he had checked with their coordinating committee and with the chairmen of all their committees, and he sent along a statement of unanimous support for Kerr. So that was the setting.

[holding up notes] I have here something that to me is very interesting. The only notes I have of what took place are on the back of my instructions that I made when I talked to Clark Kerr, and they're very informal, but that's all right, because I don't think I should speak in detail because I haven't checked with these people. I have checked with Clark; he said it would be quite agreeable for me to put this in the record, even though it was a confidential meeting. But I will not indicate names here.

Nathan: Well, we certainly want the sense of the meeting.

Grether: Well, you'll get that; you'll get that. The discussion was very interesting; it was very free and frank. For example, looking here [consults notes], one man said, "Is this a 'hanging on the ropes' syndrome?" So there were some questions that were not always entirely friendly, but the whole issue was brought out clearly that evening.

They all agreed, and this was a unanimous view, that if the president quit under these conditions it would set a very bad precedent in the state--that a governor comes in and the president is expected to resign then, you see. They agreed that this would be a very bad precedent. But also they all agreed that Kerr would have strong and full faculty support. I have it underscored here [reading from notes]:

"Convey strong feeling of support from faculty." This was written that evening during the meeting. So their advice to Kerr was that it would be a mistake for him to resign and take the easy way out.

I might say that one Regent had informed other Regents that he could deliver either John Gardner or Robert McNamara as president. So there were a lot of things going on in the background, which made this a very, very sensitive and difficult situation.

Nathan: May I ask one thing about the faculty attitude? Do you have any feeling that when Kerr was under attack in this way that the faculty tended to support him even more than they would have under normal circumstances?

Grether: Oh, I think that helped, yes. In fact, we ought to have on the record that the 1967 convocation took place after he was fired, you see. Now, this rallied the faculty, so I think that's right.

In back of this also there is a certain unfortunate feeling of conflict rather than full cooperation between the Academic Senate and the chancellors. Some chancellors think there should not be a Statewide Academic Council, that they should be the sole vehicle from the campus to the statewide administration, and so there was always a little bit of a problem.

Nathan: Oh, yes. I understand that. We're back to the allocation of power?

Grether: Oh, yes. And my feeling has always been that this would be a great mistake. It's very important at the statewide level. Well, we went over that before because, you remember, the Berkeley Senate became a bit restive, and this was true of other parts of the University, too. The relative allocation of authority and responsibility within the system was a very strategic issue here, and the role of the faculty in contrast to the role of the administrators was always--let's stop just a minute.

One time I recall attending Tom McConnell's research seminar, and I was asked to discuss the role of the Academic Senate. I took the view that the University could and should have both a strong central administration and a strong faculty participation in governance. Tom McConnell

felt that you couldn't have both. If you had a strong central administration, it had to be, to some extent, at the expense of faculty participation. If you had strong faculty participation, it had to be, to some extent, at the expense of the strength of the central administration. I feel strongly to the contrary, and I feel that one reason we made such excellent progress on the University of California following the revolution of 1919-1920 is because we had strong faculty participation and strength in administration also. Sproul was a strong administrator. Now Kerr came along and was strong, but Kerr worked with the faculty, and we'll get into that a little more as we advance. We were lucky we had both, you see, and that's the best of both worlds, at least from my point of view.

Advice: Two Views

Grether: I have a little note here [paging through notes] that on December 23, Harry Wellman and I talked to Clark Kerr for about an hour, based upon our sets of findings and views. Harry believed that Clark Kerr should resign as of July 1, 1967, or perhaps July 1, 1968.

Nathan: On what did he base his view?

Grether: Well, he knew the Regents quite well, and he was very well-informed as to what went on within the University system, and this was his judgment; that is [consulting notes made during conversation with Wellman], Clark should not take the chances and consequences of a vote of dismissal at the January meeting, or even a narrow vote of confidence. He realized that the risks were very high, that the balance of power in favor of Kerr was relatively narrow now, and that it could shift.

On the contrary, I advised him not to resign, and gave him the view of the faculty as I obtained it at the San Diego meeting. In other words, let the public record be made clear as to what was going on here, you see, and that if he resigned, then--oh, of course--they could name buildings for him, they could have a nice going-away party and all the rest of it, but--

Nathan: It would blur the issue?

Grether: Blur the issue. That's my point exactly.

I recall that same evening that Frank Kidner happened to be at our home socially, and I discussed this with him. Frank took the same view as Harry Wellman, that Clark should resign. Now, this is a possible, sensible view.

Nathan: There were real options?

Grether: There were real options here.

Refusal to Resign, then Dismissal

Grether: This was the background, then, for the meeting of the Board of Regents in January, at which it again was suggested that he resign. In fact, the Regents had talked to him, and it was clear that there was some shifting in the balance. Now, Clark himself, as I understand it, raised the issue. He said, "If you're going to take this kind of action, it should be at this meeting, because we're coming into the budget period and Reagan has proposed a very drastic cut in the budget of the University. Therefore, if there is going to be a new administration, it ought to be in a position to meet with the state authorities and work on this budget problem and other problems." So he didn't want to delay it, if it was going to come.

Well the Regents met privately, and they reported to him that they had the votes and gave him again the option of resigning, which he refused. So the vote was 14 to 8, as my notes indicated, to dismiss him.

Nathan: Everybody didn't vote, then, did they?

Grether: Max Rafferty left the meeting before the vote was taken. You see, Kerr was not in the meeting.

Nathan: Right, right.

Grether: And the dismissal was immediate.

Nathan: Oh, that's extraordinary.

Grether: It's hard to believe, isn't it? Well, this created a problem, because Kerr pointed out to them that he was the only one to present the agenda. They had a very important agenda of items that day. He said, "Could you delay the dismissal long enough for me to present the agenda?" Imagine. Under these circumstances. So he handled the agenda. That takes an awful lot of stamina, doesn't it, under these conditions?

Well, in my files there's a note that I haven't with me. A number of weeks later he wrote me; he was cleaning up his desk and he found that agenda and noticed that there was an honorary degree for me on that agenda. [laughter] So that was a narrow squeak.

Nathan: [laughter] Indeed.

Grether: Have we mentioned this: When that degree was conferred, Harry Wellman was acting president, and Clark Kerr made his first public appearance to present me; I have a picture of it someplace. I think it would be a nice thing to put that in the memoir, if I can find it.

Nathan: Oh, yes, definitely.

Grether: Because here I was, between two friends. And this is Clark Kerr: he'd been very careful to keep out of the public; this was his first public appearance--commencement, 1967--to present me for the honorary degree. And when he arose, the stadium rose, except for some old grads sitting right underneath. [laughter] But my grandchildren who were there thought this was an ovation for me. [laughter] So it was a tremendous outburst and ovation for Clark Kerr. But the whole thing, of course, was something I take a great deal of pride in. It's very comparable, you see, to Earl Warren sitting with me at that meeting in Washington.

Nathan: Very poignant. Wonderful.

Grether: Yes; yes, it is. So I was very much impressed.

Nathan: Oh, yes. We must have a picture of that.

Grether: It's a very good picture, as it turns out. I think it would be nice to have it in the record.

Nathan: Well, thinking, you know, of these terrible blows that Kerr had to accept reminds me of this little witticism he came up with later, in which (I'm sure you remember this) he said, "I entered the University and I left the University in the same way--fired with enthusiasm."

Grether: [chuckles] Yes, that's one of his favorites.

But, now, I brought this picture along.

Nathan: Oh, yes. Let's see. It shows Kerr in front of a battery of microphones.

Grether: After the Regents' meeting was over, he appeared here with all of the press and the TV.

Nathan: Right then and there?

Grether: Right after the meeting was over. Now, what do you see in that face?

Nathan: Well, I see, certainly, sadness, but a lot of control and a kind of philosophic expression, I would say. It's certainly not a shattered man.

Grether: No.

Nathan: What do you think?

Grether: Well, I see some torture in there also, a certain amount of torture.

Nathan: Yes. Of course, you know him so well.

Grether: Yes. Well, he doesn't know I have this, or didn't. I got this through the Office of Public Information. I had it blown up and framed. I keep it in the corner of my living room at home, along with the blown up Kerr Medal. You see, they're kind of souvenirs.

Nathan: I see. The caption is "A sad departure for President Kerr."

Grether: Yes. That's not my caption. That was on it when it came from the Office of Public Information on the campus.

Now, here is a question I'd like to raise, because it's been on my mind ever since. I advised Kerr strongly not to

resign. Wellman and others felt he should. In the perspective of what's happened since then, who was right? It worries me a bit, because I could have influenced him the other way, you see, but I didn't. I like to rationalize that it would have made it worse [if he had resigned], considering the kind of man he is.

Nathan: At least he was able to hang in and fight for what he thought was right, and he went to the ultimate; he did everything he could do.

Grether: That's right.

Nathan: And there should be some satisfaction, I would imagine.

Grether: Well, I say it's a matter of concern, because undoubtedly I could have thrown my advice, but whether he would have taken it, I don't know.

Nathan: Of course.

Grether: But he was dismissed and, by the way, as I judge him, it still hurts, and not only because of the very nature of it-- he loved the University and loved the presidency--but I think it was his first major defeat, really a defeat.

Nathan: He had had such spectacular successes and achievements.

Grether: That's right. And this then came along. It's a very sad business.

Rise in Recognition and Prestige

Grether: But think of what's happened in the meantime. He now is the leader in the field of higher education in the world, based upon his work at Carnegie.

Nathan: Yes. He really showed what he could do.

Grether: That's right. And also, I don't suppose there's any man, or very few people in the world, who have traveled around the world and have had the recognition he's had. I suspect he has more honorary degrees [chuckles] than almost any other academic man, and he doesn't list them all in Who's Who, by

the way. It's amazing how his prestige and recognition have risen during all these years.

Nathan: Isn't that interesting.

Grether: Yes.

An Early Appraisal, and Personal Style

Nathan: Just to recapitulate for a moment, I know you were instrumental in bringing him to the campus at the beginning.

Grether: Yes.

Nathan: And you mentioned the sorts of evaluations that people had given him, his enormous abilities. Do you feel that he developed them while he was president, that he demonstrated these capabilities?

Grether: Yes. You recall that when we went over those, what we did was to indicate the appraisals that were made by the referees whom I consulted when I recommended his appointment as associate professor when he was 33 years old. We both agreed that these appraisals were very perceptive in the perspective of what had happened since then.

Now, there's one of these that I want to read again, because I didn't finish it. I thought it would be very interesting here. One of these appraisals stressed "his unalterable commitment to principles and standards as he sees them." I want to add to that, "a quality which is a great virtue," says this referee, "if properly tempered, but one which at times makes Dr. Kerr seem rather hard-headed and arbitrary. Let me emphasize, I consider this trait to be virtuous in a scholar, if properly balanced, but which, as you will appreciate, demands real greatness at times to overcome." Now, that's a nice issue: can one stand on principle too strongly? We'll get into this a little later, because I'd like to look at his Godkin Lectures and keep this issue in mind. It is true, and this appeared back when Kerr was 33 years old. Time and again this arose, that he stands on principle and he's hard to move when he's convinced that he's right. At the same time, he was a labor

negotiator, a very successful one, and so he was accustomed to negotiating.

Nathan: For other people?

Grether: Well, when the issue is down, when the issue is clear, he wouldn't yield. In this case he didn't, you see.

Nathan: One other thing that you may or may not want to discuss. I was wondering how important the president's social relationships with the Regents might be--an ability to be easy with them, to get them to like him as a person; not concerning matters of principle, but just personality.

Grether: Well, let me indicate something here that I hope is okay. Last Thursday evening was the annual Christmas party at the Faculty Club. My wife and I were standing with a group of people, including the Wellmans. Along came a retired University statewide administrator with his wife. Harry Wellman's arm went around her so nicely and easily, and he gave her a nice hug. I said to Carrie, my wife, "Clark Kerr could not have done that." She said, "You couldn't have done it, either." That is, Clark Kerr is a bit stiff. One of his assets is not that easy informality that Wellman had, you see, or that Franklin Murphy had.

Do you remember Virginia Smith, who is the president of Vassar?

Nathan: Yes, I know her name.

Grether: I understand she was at the Princeton party for Clark. Well, one time Wellman and I both were there, so we both can vouch for this. At a break in the meeting of the Board of Regents she was standing there with a group of us, and Franklin Murphy came along and started rubbing the back of her neck and her back. I said, "This would not have occurred to me at all."

Nathan: No. [laughter]

Grether: But Franklin Murphy was that way, too, you see, and Harry Wellman has an easy, outgoing, friendly manner; when he puts his arm around your shoulder, it's just a normal thing. But Clark Kerr isn't that way. I'm not that way. People differ, you see.

Now, to go back to your question, Clark Kerr was in touch with the Regents. I'm told that although he belonged to the Bohemian Club, he didn't spend much time up there. He'd go up for a day and violate the rule; he'd go around and talk to people, talk business, so I'm told [laughter], which violates all the rules of the Grove. That is, he is a very hard-working man, and in many ways very serious and has tremendous drive and stamina, but he has trouble relaxing, in contrast with some other people.

I would say he's very lucky that he had Harry Wellman as his first vice president. Wellman complemented him beautifully on this score, because Wellman is such an easy, informal, outgoing type of person. In fact, I'd put it this way, perhaps: Wellman, at this level, was like Lloyd Fisher was in the Institute of Industrial Relations. You see?

Nathan: Yes.

Grether: Because they made a very fine combination. For one thing, Kerr always probably carried an overload. He could carry it, though. Many people felt (and it was true) that when they were talking to him he had something else waiting. This is why these meetings in our home were so nice, because that wasn't true there. He could leave any time he wanted to, to go home, but we were relaxed there.

Now, I'm speaking very informally here, and you can take some of this off if you don't think it's appropriate, but you started me on something very interesting.

Early, I concluded that Clark Kerr was very ambitious. This is, from my point of view, not bad at all; it's a good sign. I like people who are ambitious. His ambition ran first to doing the best job possible, and probably (and I think I'm right in this) his number one ambition was to be the leading scholar in his field. Scholarship came first. Anything he undertook, he wanted to be at the very top in terms of the quality of his performance. When he became president, I'm sure he therefore wanted to be the best president in the University of California's history and perhaps in the world. By the way, when he asked me to talk to the Academic Council, he said, "What is going on in Berkeley now, the world is watching it. It's very important." It was true; that is, it was very strategic. So he was aware. I have never seen him perform at the second-level quality. He's always prepared. He always had

assistants, but he used them effectively to prepare the background. He always amazed me. He had this ability to carry details of information, the important information, at his fingertips, and he's so well-informed.

Along with all that, he had a quality of candor, simplicity-it always amazed me. I admired very much that no matter how difficult the situation was, he never seemed to be perturbed. Well, look at this. [indicating picture of Kerr before microphones] Imagine, after this [dismissal], to be able to go on TV.

Nathan: How extraordinary that was, after that shattering experience, to be able to do it.

Grether: That's right, yes. There's something that represents unbelievable stamina. Now, whether it comes from his Quakerism or his genealogy, I don't know [chuckles], but it's there, you see.

Nathan: Yes.

Grether: I've had enormous, therefore, respect for him. For instance, one of the original appraisals back when he was 33 years old said, "Under terrific cross fire and pressures, he maintained the highest degree of integrity, common sense, and balance." This is true all the way through.

Nathan: And they were deliberately subjecting him to pressure to see how he would respond?

Grether: Well, he was working in the labor field, Labor Board, you see, and this was when he was only 33 years old. And they always stressed, "I had full respect--"

But another thing I want to mention here is that they stressed, "He always consulted advisory groups. They became part of his thinking processes," and this is true all the way through. I think one reason he probably felt so confident was that he had consulted; he had done his homework, just like he sent me down there to consult with the faculty, you see.

Nathan: Yes. That is very telling.

Grether: He felt that he was in a strong position when he rose to explain or defend his actions, and this was characteristic all the way through.

I notice here [in the appraisals of Kerr] that one of the people said he had a strong political sense. He does have, but not at the expense of morality, the moral principle involved. There are limits to what Clark is willing to do to maintain a situation.

Qualification for Other Posts###

Nathan: Thinking again, perhaps, about Kerr's great strengths and abilities, there had been some rumors that he had been offered cabinet posts--that is, national. Have you heard that?

Grether: Yes, I think that's true, especially in the field of labor, Secretary of Labor. There was a strong rumor also about Health, Education, and Welfare. I recall that I asked him a time or two about these, and he said he wife preferred to stay here. There has been a health problem there. Their home was built primarily to accommodate her needs for therapy. But my feeling about all this is that he would have made an ideal Secretary of State.

Nathan: Ah. Now, why do you think that?

Grether: Very few people know the world as well as he does. He's always traveling. He's been to all parts of the world, so far as I know. He's been recognized in all parts of the world. At one time he was involved in a research project when he was still chancellor (it may have carried over into his presidency), where he and his colleagues divided up the world in terms of an analysis of labor and industrial relations problems.

Nathan: What was his part? Do you remember?

Grether: I've forgotten now. It would be easy to check out. But I mean he's always had what you might call a world view, not a parochial, local view, and I think he would have been an ideal Secretary of State, including this problem of moral principle that we talked about.

Nathan: That is a good point.

Grether: His original research work was with the self-help co-ops, so he was concerned, you see. He'd have been ideal in terms of the Third World situation because he had a basic sympathy, empathy, and understanding, I think, of what goes on in these parts of the world. Well, that's just by the way of comment, for whatever it's worth.

Nathan: It's an interesting speculation. We were thinking, too, of his long interests in the way universities function and the way responsibility and authority are delegated. Wasn't he active in pushing the decentralization concept for the University of California?

Grether: Yes. I mentioned that earlier. That was part of this program, yes.

Establishing and Understanding the Chancellorship

Nathan: And then, of course, he was the first chancellor and perhaps was aware of what happens when a chancellor doesn't have as much authority as he'd like.

Grether: Well, I think that story is very interesting--that is, that Sproul didn't want to yield his authority. In fact, he kept some things still reporting to him as long as he could, as long as he was President. This is normal; it's happened in many organizations. He built the University of California along his lines.

In fact, when Kerr arrived he was asked to take an office next door to Sproul and he wouldn't do it. He said, "I have an office back in the Institute of Industrial Relations. Suppose I just stay there," because he didn't want to be working that closely. So eventually he was given a very nice suite of offices in Dwinelle Hall, and he eventually got a small staff, but Sproul yielded budget for staff very gingerly. In fact, during Kerr's early period as chancellor he would take the papers home every night, a box of papers [chuckles], and make decisions. In some ways that's the best type of administration. He had to do it

himself because of the absence of a hierarchy of people working with him.

But it was this whole situation--you see, his own experience led him to have a strong feeling about delegating to the chancellors, so he was very sympathetic; he made moves in that direction. In fact, when he was president he cut down the size of the President's Office. In fact, during that period I used to hear of what was called the Kerr-tastrophe. [chuckles] These were people who had sympathy for people who had lost their jobs, you see, when the President's Office was slimmed down.

He was making major moves toward decentralization, and this is why the problems with the Berkeley campus and its Chancellor Strong were so difficult and sensitive, because Kerr believed in decentralization. He didn't want, in terms of his own principles and wishes, to get involved in the Berkeley campus, but he felt he had to. This produced this whole very difficult set of relationships between him and Chancellor Strong, which still continues. That is, there are friends on both sides of this issue, and feelings still run high, and so on.

I don't think we need to go into that any more at this moment, unless you wish, because I think the issue is quite clear. That is, Kerr lived here, he'd been the chancellor, he knew the situation, and he felt mistakes were being made and he had to do something, so he did move into the situation to some extent. Chancellor Strong felt he was not being allowed to do the things he wished to do, you see. In the meantime, there were many other problems that were involved that I don't think need to be a part of our discussion, unless you wish.

- Nathan: I was just wondering whether your view of Kerr's problem-solving would tend to be a negotiation approach, since that was his experience.
- Grether: Well, he negotiated. For example, that time with the famous episode in the plaza with the car, he finally came and negotiated a settlement with the students. Now, Ed Strong thinks that was a great mistake, you see, to have negotiated with the students. The students held it to be a great victory for them that they were recognized. But what do you do in a case like that? Ideas differ and feelings were high on that issue. Kerr was basically--and that was his life's

work--a negotiator, but not a compromiser. There's a difference.

Nathan: Well, that is interesting, yes.

The Godkin Lectures and the Multiversity

Grether: I think we best, perhaps, can get into that whole set of issues if we look at his Godkin Lectures at Harvard, because they were important out in the plaza that fall.

Nathan: The Godkin Lectures at Harvard took place after he became President of Cal?

Grether: Yes. [hold up volume] And here it's published--The Uses of the University, by Clark Kerr. These are the lectures, and this volume is dated 1963.

Nathan: [leafing through volume] I see there's an inscription in it.

Grether: Well, he gave me this. It says, "To Greth, with appreciation for advice, help, and encouragement along the way."

Nathan: He obviously felt this.

Grether: Well, we were friends and had many conversations. And also I was, as dean, appraising his work as professor. You see, always his professorship was kept alive. This was always kind of amusing. I was appraising first Clark Kerr as chancellor, and then Clark Kerr as a professor. [laughter] This was something that caught Reagan by surprise, because he didn't realize that Kerr still had a base in the University as a professor when he was fired as president.

Nathan: Oh, isn't that amusing?

Grether: Yes. [laughter]

These are the brilliant lectures at Harvard that have been printed many times around the world, and I have not only the original one here, but I have one with a postscript

in 1972, which came to me in an interesting way that I'll tell about in just a minute.

Now, in the Godkin Lectures, Kerr discusses what he called the "multiversity," in contrast with the traditional university. This is really, in a sense, the unique university that developed in this country following the land-grant approach. We developed people's universities to serve the people directly, rather than the university as an enclave removed from people, as in the German tradition.

The impact of this has been enormous. In fact, I think Clark Kerr believes that this will have been our great contribution to higher education, the world model now. Even the Russians are studying our model. That is, this is a model for the world now. In the Godkin Lectures, he briefly and wittily and beautifully discusses the nature and the operations of what he calls the multiversity.

Reactions to The Uses of the University

Grether: I had read this. In fact, at the time, I might indicate, I wrote him a letter, as I often do. [finds letter among materials] I might read this, and we can discuss this as we go along. This was written on January 23, 1964, my reaction to the book:

In the first two chapters, one does get the impression of a complex congeries of loosely related entities reacting to historical forces and environment without strong or firm guidance or leadership. This is what I have assumed happened at Columbia University. It is perhaps the reason it has lost position relatively.

Another impression one gets is that faculty participation in government has had a relatively minor role and has become the preoccupation of a small minority who are not truly leaders. One gets the view also that the community of teachers and students, or, if you wish, the traditional company of scholars, has become lost somewhere among the labyrinth of bewildering

agencies, institutes, departments, courses, programs, individual group research projects, and so forth, and so forth, and that all this has happened in reaction to environmental, external pressures, especially those of the federal government defense programs.

All this sums into a sense of planlessness, not a plan except to serve a national purpose. No Master Plan; instead, almost blind, automatic reaction, which becomes rationalized somehow or other in some subsets of values, goals, and objectives related only tenuously to the traditional and cherished values.

Well, this book was read out in the plaza, and the leftwing students were very critical of what they called the knowledge factories that Kerr was describing here, because Kerr depicted this multiversity reacting to the demands of society, which it was doing.

Nathan: He was, in a sense, describing what he saw, not necessarily advocating that it was right?

Grether: That's right. We'll get to that in just a minute.

Then I go on to say:

But as I have thought about it, it would have been very difficult for you, under the circumstances, to do more than merely suggest that top university leadership can innovate, initiate, and guide to some extent. Certainly, however, your own administration has not succumbed to external pressures and forces. When you were chancellor, you put us all to work, busily developing ten-year plans, which were appraised by a central committee working with you and put together into a campus plan.

The same thing has been occurring statewide under your administration, reaching its peak in the so-called Master Plan. Likewise, you have authored and promulgated strong statements of statewide policy.

On the other hand, you certainly are correct in emphasizing the importance and impacts of the external pressures, especially the dangling availability of sizeable outside resources. Most likely, too, you have felt it necessary at times to yield to external pressures contrary to your own individual set of values. On the other hand, very likely, your recommendations and decisions were tempered by your concepts of balance and of the character of the total system with its basic unity.

It would be my judgment that you have made and are continuing to make a much more definite impact upon the direction and overall policies and programs and balance of the University of California than you would care to admit publicly. Certainly, from observation, I have seen situation after situation where the answer was "no" or a negotiated compromise, rather than merely going along, or where you took creative initiative.

There are some other things, here, too. For instance, I thought he underestimated the positive role both of alumni and of faculty in the university.

Well, the book was an enormous success, even out in the plaza, where the students were very critical of it.

Recently, knowing that you were going to be interviewing me on this, I called up Clark Kerr's secretary and said, "I want to ask him three questions. One, did he coin the term 'multiversity'? Second, did he consider his analysis of the original lectures to be a model of the large universities in this country as of that time? Third, does he consider this model appropriate still? Would he make any changes in the model?"

Well, I didn't realize at the time that he'd written a postscript in 1972 to one of the editions, and he brought this to the house then and gave it to me, because my questions really are answered in this postscript, which, to me, is very interesting. That is, the term "multiversity" was in the air. At least two presidents of the big ten

universities had used it prior to Kerr, and other people apparently. It was one of those things that seemed just almost spontaneous under the circumstances.

With respect to the second question, yes, he did consider that his analysis was a model of the large diversified university as of 1963. But he points out in the postscript that he didn't intend that necessarily to be a norm. He was describing, but people misunderstood and thought this was his view of what the university should be, that it's a normative and not merely a descriptive model.

And with respect to the third question, he said yes, he still thinks that, on the whole, this is what is going on, that the large universities are responding to environmental pressures, and especially the pressures from the federal government in its grants programs and affirmative action programs and so on, and to the dangling of funds and resources before them.

You recall our discussion of the real estate program, how we had to think this thing through.

Nathan: Yes.

Grether: Here were sizeable resources, but on what terms will you be willing to take these resources? His feeling is that most large universities perhaps too freely accept these resources available, and perhaps too freely on the terms sometimes available, and that, therefore, the old-fashioned traditional university, which was called properly "university," has tended to disappear in this very large and sometimes amorphous multiversity.

Diversity Within a Pattern

Grether: But he said (and this comes out clearly also in this postscript) that there is diversity developing now within the pattern. For instance, Princeton is somewhat different from Harvard, and within the state universities there are some differences also. So he thinks of a continuum with maybe Princeton at one end and Harvard at another end, you see, and in between are variations of emphasis.

Now, all of this, I might say, interests me very greatly, and we could talk indefinitely, because this is an area in which I've done a great deal of work in terms of the operations of large corporations. The tendency of American corporations is to diversify; this is a pattern that's well established.

Nathan: Is it a rational one, in your view?

Grether: Well, it varies a great deal. In its most complete form it takes the form of the so-called conglomerates. I'm almost loth to discuss this because I'm so full of it. For example, General Electric would be very insulted if you called it a conglomerate. Why? It is very diversified, but it thinks of itself as having what it would call "planned and managed diversification" and the organization appropriate to this.

Whereas many of the conglomerates were built, were established, by one or two men, who did what? They acquired firms that they could get at a low enough rate, as bargains, and they didn't necessarily have a pattern in mind except, "Here's a chance to make some money." Inversely, the central thing would be the allocation of resources, and buying and selling at better prices, or the managing of them at a profit. The control would be a financial control. That's common to all of them, you see. But the extent to which there was a plan, and the extent to which the firms acquired, for example, are managed in a centralized way are highly variable as between American corporations, and it can be also, you see, as between educational institutions.

My impression is that there's a moving pendulum here, that there will be certain problems arising because of excessive centralization, and the pendulum will swing towards decentralization. Then problems arise there, and there will be some recentralization. In fact, some people think that is what is going on now with [President] Saxon, that he's recentralizing.

Managing Diversification

Nathan: Now, is there a difference between the issue of centralization and the issue of diversification?

Grether: You see, it depends on whether diversification is managed, except in this financial sense. Let me illustrate. I'm so full of this that I could talk a long time. I worked, you may recall, with Dan Walker (who later on became Governor of Illinois) on the Consolidated Foods case, which went to the Supreme Court. This was during the period when it was thought, under the antitrust laws, that investment conglomerates were not subject to the antitrust laws because these were investments. So the whole emphasis in terms of the analysis was in terms of indicating that the various subdivisions or entities in the firm were free to operate pretty much as they wanted except for the financial control. They'd be supplied with capital, and then the surplus could be removed to the Chicago head office and used for other purposes. But basically they were managed as they were before.

This is a very common pattern when firms are acquired, to maintain the same management, but it need not be. They could be worked over, and sometimes they are worked over. A lot depends upon the nature of the situation and upon the kind of plan that's involved.

Now, I've forgotten whether we discussed this already. In this whole type of analysis, the concept of synergy arises.

Nathan: Yes, I think we've spoken of synergy.

Grether: If the acquisitions, whether they are firms or product lines or services or whatnot, are planned so that they relate to each other and strengthen each other, then you get a so-called synergistic or synergetic result. In other words, the whole becomes more than the sum of its parts. This, by the way, has been in the minds of some university planners also.

Clark Kerr mentions (it's in the footnote) James Perkins' view that in the proper university development you'd have coherence, and that is that each unit would be stronger because of the presence of other units in the system. Well, if that's really true, it's synergetic, you see, because they strengthen each other, and I think that could be a very important concept. But it's a very subtle, difficult thing when you get in the university, where you don't have the bottom line of profit, you see, and it

becomes a complex thing even in the operation of large and diversified corporations.

There is no simple answer here. For example (I'm glad I thought of this), there's a thesis written by one of our Ph.D.s who is Japanese, Jiro Nonaka. I was on his committee; in fact, I made the arrangements for him for all his interviews. This thesis is an analysis of four corporations (Kaiser Aluminum, Hewlett-Packard, Levi Strauss, and Clorox), in part in terms of this issue of relative centralization and decentralization. I think the idea came from my seminar where I suggested there must be some connection between the market structure in which a firm sits or operates, its setting, and its internal organization. As he got into it, a lot of other things got into the analysis. It's a very scholarly, excellent piece of work. It won an award in Japan, I understand, when it was published there.

He finds that these four firms are in different stages of this sort of thing. That is, Hewlett-Packard tends to be highly decentralized. Now, why? Because there is a heavy stress on new products and new developments. You can't run that from the top.

Nathan: On sort of creativity and--?

Grether: That's right, that's right. Kaiser Aluminum is more centralized. It is now the so-called learning partner of the School of Business this year. I understand it's working very well.

Levi Strauss was moving towards centralization, and then they began divisionalizing, as they had to do as they became larger. Clorox was sort of like that, because they have a heavy stress on buying and developing new products.

So each firm was in a somewhat different situation, but all are in process. These things can change as they move forward, in terms of competition, the variety within their own offerings, and what goes on in the market.

The University, The Chancellor, and Decentralization

Grether: In a university, you have the same sort of problems to think through. My view is that the University is Hewlett-Packard plus, plus, plus. In other words, what goes on here, if it's successful, goes on in the relationship between teachers and students, and scholars in their laboratories with their students, or whatnot. In other words, the teaching and research aspects of the University are the basic aspects, and these cannot be directed from the top. All the top people can do, whether they're Regents or presidents or chancellors, is to be sure they've got good people (faculty and students) and then that they're operating under the proper conditions to maximize or optimize the results in some sense. That is, they cannot reach down into the classroom and the laboratory. That's the essence of it. That has to be highly creative and under the appropriate conditions.

But the modern university operates in a very complex environment, including, as Clark Kerr says, the federal grants programs, federal contracts and so on, and federal affirmative action, getting increasingly complex. So problems of what should you have done at the bottom level (the teacher and the researcher) and what should be done at some other level--these get to be very important issues.

Now, on the Berkeley campus, for example, we have a very elaborate hierarchy at present, a vertical hierarchy under the chancellor. Some of it, I think, stems from the increasing responsibilities that are required. They come in the complex environment in which universities operate. And always the problem of how much should be carried by the chancellor and his office, and how much should be carried statewide; this is a problem of continual adjustment.

You will recall that when I began as dean here, I was asked to do all of my thinking and planning in relation to UCLA. Now, imagine that in contrast with now. That is, at that time Sproul wanted to have the emerging programs planned in relation to other campuses. If that goes on now, it's not sharply focused. In fact, I doubt if it really goes on now in a strict way. That is, there has to be a very definite decentralization, you see, delegation of authority to the campuses, and the chancellor has to be the means or vehicle for that delegation and decentralization.

But how much? How far do you go? This is part of the problem here.

Then, once it gets to the campus level, how far down the line? My impression (at least looking at the Berkeley campus) is that some of that delegation has not gone down to the deans as yet. Maybe it shouldn't. This is a very difficult problem. I'm not actively involved in it, you see, but I'm sure I had more authority when I was dean than the present deans do, because now they've got to work through provosts and vice chancellors and so on, and each of them has assistant vice chancellors. There is a very elaborate hierarchy, but the environment is much more complex than it used to be.

So, now, in Kerr's Godkin Lectures, you see, he tried briefly to interpret this very complex situation.

Pluralistic Concepts and Guiding Principles##

Nathan: You were talking about some of the ideas that Kerr had presented in the Godkin Lectures and the postscript.

Grether: Yes. I think it might be helpful to turn to the 1972 postscript which, I mentioned earlier, answered the three questions that I had raised, but also some other questions. Kerr states there that the term "multiversity" has been misunderstood to some extent, that what he really had meant there was a pluralistic concept, which he uses, by the way, in his analysis of the broader setting of the functioning of our society. Obviously, we are a pluralistic, not a monolithic society. But then he says he wished he had used the concept of the multiverse and so on, and it goes along these lines.

Now, this is really a very basic problem, at least in my thinking: Is the university a holding company for a lot of discrete units assembled under various pressures and needs and so on, or is it something else? The traditional university was something else. I recall that, when I went recruiting and I talked to people, I always had up here [gestures] in my mind some place this following question, "Does he belong in a company of scholars? Does he belong, and would he make his way at the University of California,

where there is a very high stress upon achievement, not only in teaching but in the research side? Does he really belong in this environment?" I thought I got along all right on that basis; in other words, that the "company of scholars" traditional criterion was still useful or applicable. But is it? That becomes what it's all about. That is, you could assemble, as they do in some corporations, a lot of heterogeneous, discrete units operated separately but under one banner, and as long as they contribute to the combined earnings and profit sheet, it's okay. If they don't, you get rid of them and so on. In a university, it's very difficult to do that. [laughter] It's hard to get rid of them.

Nathan: I was just thinking that.

Grether: Yes. It gets down to the question, what is the guiding principle that could be used to maintain homogeneity? Or I like James Perkins' term; how do you maintain coherence within this collection of entities?

I'm interested in reading this postscript. Here on page 131, Clark spoke of the period of 1870 to 1920 as "a period when the presidents were giants." Well, that would include Benjamin Ide Wheeler, for example, But they were replaced, beginning in '20, by administrators.

Nathan: Technicians, more or less?

Grether: Yes. The connotation is something different--administrators who could administer this loose congeries of units that were being assembled under the name of the university.

Presidential Giants and the Question of Image

Grether: Kerr said, "We are now entering a period when we need new presidential giants." That would suggest, you see, that he recognized the importance of the personal equation and of some need for coherence in what goes on under the banner of the university.

Also, in this context, it's worth noting that he says in this postscript that he made a mistake by using the term "mediator," that this was misunderstood. He's been

criticized a great deal for this because people thought of mediators as mere negotiators or mere compromisers to get a settlement. He didn't mean that at all. From his standpoint, a mediator does something much more fundamental than that. You recall, in what I read a little while ago, that I criticized him and said, "He was no mere mediator."

Nathan: Yes, yes. I was thinking of that.

Grether: In fact, I would say he was a presidential giant, in terms of what he's talking about now.

Nathan: Yes. This is his image, certainly.

Grether: Yes. He also here, by the way, used the term "image." He says, "The modern emerging president needs to worry about his image." I hope he keeps that in proper perspective; he also indicates this can be overdone. But there is a public relations problem here. What do you reflect? What does the University of California reflect to the people of the state or of the world through the image of the president and through the units it has operated and the way in which they operate? This was certainly our problem in the 60s. The image got to be a distorted one, misunderstood by many people; or maybe it was understood too well, depending upon your point of view. [chuckles]

Now, I suspect we're going to go through a period (and I'm ad libbing here) where there should be giants. Watching corporations, they go through these periods. Galbraith loves to point out that corporations really are operated by members of the technostructure, the experts down the line who do the basic work, the basic analysis. Yet in many situations you have strong people, one or two people, and you can't get away from this personal equation.

I would look forward to having Kerr's giants appear on the scene of the American university, and that, I think, would introduce patterns of coherence (using Perkins' word) that would vary. Kerr mentions how Princeton varies from Harvard. There would be other variations, and among the state institutions also, as we have in this state, you see, between the state university system and the university system. The needs are so great that there are opportunities for significant variations.

- Nathan: Would you think that many of the giants were constructing the University (like Wheeler, let's say, and, to some extent, certainly, Sproul), and what you're looking for now are giants in reconstructing, in a sense?
- Grether: In a sense. The other day when I was talking about this to Paul Taylor at the Faculty Club, I mentioned Wheeler, and Paul, in his quiet way, put his finger on it. He said, "Wheeler transformed the University of California." That's a good way to put it. He was a giant, you see.
- Nathan: Yes, in transforming. Interesting.
- Grether: Yes. Now, whether one can take something as big as a present university and transform it--
- Nathan: What do you want to transform it into?
- Grether: That's right, that's right. [chuckles] But certainly it requires direction, you see, and this is a continuing problem and a continuing struggle. I can imagine variations in patterns among great universities that would be recognized--as Clark has done for Princeton and Harvard--as significant variations, but among the state universities.

Vertical Social Mobility

- Nathan: What do you make of reports that academic accomplishment appears to be declining, so that the universities (the public ones particularly) may have to make remedial efforts to bring in both a variegated student body and a large enough one to keep an enterprise of this size going?
- Grether: You see, we are in such a fortunate position, but we should beware. That is, we get our students from the upper 12 percent, so that problem is not as serious for us, although we do feel it to some extent. I know I had a Black woman in my seminar a few years ago, and she obviously had problems. One day she sat where you're sitting, in the study here, and we talked about it. She said, "Well, my trouble is that I have two languages--the one I learned in Mississippi and the one you're trying to teach me." She was at the graduate student level, you see, and this is a serious problem, no doubt.

I believe very, very strongly that part of the responsibility of the state university system is to grapple with this problem of vertical social mobility. And this is why I think we may very well need some giants again, among other reasons. That is, these problems are upon us. The Blacks are here, but the Chicanos are backed up, Mexican-Americans, and they have not been served well. They were excluded right from the start in the original Constitution of the state. And recently Asians are coming in throngs.

Nathan: Yes.

Grether: Well, we needn't go over that ground again.

Nathan: You're making an important point, certainly.

Grether: But how do we grapple with them? Now, fortunately in California we have the community colleges, the state university system, and the University and private institutions. So there is a place for any level of ability, any set of interests, and any level of test score or whatnot, you see, for people to get into one of the systems and then to move up or out.

Need for Attention: Undergraduates in Large State Universities

Grether: My feeling (I hope you don't mind this) is that the University needs somehow to learn to think a little more creatively about individual students, especially at the undergraduate level, and their families and their family interests. I can speak in the first person (I hope this is all right). I have grandchildren throughout the system. One is in her second year at UCLA. She may transfer from there. Why? She finds herself in big classes, five hundred. It's almost impossible to get to the instructor; now he's away doing something else. She doesn't feel happy. Her housing is poor. This is certainly true around the Berkeley campus. When I think of the combination of the sorts of things that our granddaughter, Jackie, is having at UCLA--right now we're going to talk to Mills College, for example.

Now, people differ. The University is excellent for people who are strong and know what they want to do. At the undergraduate level there is a real problem for those who need considerable attention. Well, Clark Kerr recognized that. He said, "There is still a major problem at the undergraduate level in most of the big multiversities." It's worse in some states because everybody in the high school is eligible, so the first year everybody comes--carnage. [laughter] They come in, and part of the idea is to get rid of a good chunk of them, you see. I'm amazed in some ways that state universities get as much support as they do, considering the nature of these operations.

I suppose this problem, to some extent, is insoluble, but I would like to personally think that our students, when they come to this campus, could get friendly advice and attention, not only through the professional advisors but through faculty members who would take an interest. I tried, when I was dean, to have the students attached to faculty members as advisors, so the faculty members got to know them. A few faculty objected. One of them, who is no longer with us, is a very fine scholar at another university. He said, "That's state college approach. This is not university level to ask us to do this sort of thing."

Now, there's a problem here. Do you want a great scholar to spend his time doing--what? Not clerical work, but certainly, I would think, advising with his students would be part of his responsibility, and I'd think he'd want to do it. This should not be considered to be a sacrifice of his time, you see. But this is an unsolved problem in what goes on.

The University's Clienteles and Supporters

Grether: Another thing that bothers me is the fact that we have such different clienteles and supporters. I have been worried (I shouldn't say this, maybe) about the overemphasis on the fact that we're going to play in a bowl game after twenty years now. This interest does represent a clientele. I noticed in this morning's paper that some poor old guy died; he'd saved money to get his ticket to go to that bowl game, and now won't be able to go because he died, after scrimping and saving to go to see that.

But every time (I hope I didn't put this in already) I go to a football game, and I like football, I say to myself, "These are not the same people I see at the San Francisco Symphony." [laughter] They're different clienteles that we serve, you see.

Nathan: I haven't heard this before. That's a very nice observation.

Grether: It's a problem for a public institution especially and, well, the private, too. It's hard to envisage USC without its football team, and Notre Dame, and so on. In a democracy, where you have various types of sets of interests, these are part of the problem of the university administration or whatever you wish to call it. The giant who is president has to relate to all these variations and communities of interests.

Nathan: Certainly that's related to the new groups who know that there are other levels of education, but who want to go to the University of California. We don't seem to be accommodating them too well yet, would you say?

Grether: No. And also, as I observe the University, we are now in a period of adjustment. We were tending to be a transfer point; people want the prestige of a degree from here, but they maybe couldn't afford to or couldn't get in at the early level. So they come in either as seniors or juniors, or as graduate students, to get the label of the University. But they were not like the students we knew when we came here in '22, who were here for four years or more. Now there's a major effort, I would judge, to reverse that pattern, to try to get more freshmen, relatively.

Nathan: Yes. Then they're going to have to do what you said about attention to undergraduates.

Grether: That's right. That's exactly the problem. You've got to find a way, then, to give them the kind of attention--not only counseling, but personal attention--to make it worth their while. And just what the answer is, I don't know.

But it's interesting to have children and grandchildren go through the process and observe the variations. Now I have a granddaughter who is spending her first semester on the Santa Cruz campus and is very happy so far, and I hope

that continues. We have another granddaughter who finished at Riverside, another at Irvine. I mean, I have watched these variations of environments and so on within the University system.

Experiments, Declining Resources, Loyalties

Grether: And, by the way, Clark Kerr says in his postscript here that he wishes he had completed his original Godkin Lectures in one respect; he didn't have time to discuss new experimental developments in the multiversity within a statewide system. He felt that if he had taken time to discuss the developments at San Diego, at Irvine, and at Santa Cruz, which were the new experimental campuses, this would have given an emphasis that was lacking in his original lectures. I agreed with that. This goes on within the corporation, too. A big diversified corporation can, you see, experiment; it has the resources. And the same thing is true of the multiversity; it should.

Nathan: Do you think this University has, perhaps, come to the end of some of its experiments because of our steady state and because of our financial constraints?

Grether: Oh, yes. We not only have a steady state, but in a sense we have a decline, relatively, of resources, and this makes for very serious pressure. The other day I was on an elevator, and I heard some of our younger faculty members talking. I heard one say, "I would like to stay here, but I have to eat." I heard another say, "I don't allow myself to get attached."

Nathan: That is poignant.

Grether: It is. Well, you see, this is going on. This is a tendency for many younger people now; they want to keep themselves footloose. Actually, the openings are not as wide; the opportunities are not as great as they were at one time.

Nathan: No. Some go to industry, I suppose, if they can?

Grether: Yes. But I was delighted when I came here to become attached, you see. [chuckles] There was a high sense of

loyalty that doesn't seem to be here. How do you attach yourself to a multiversity? You see?

Nathan: You certainly need a core or something that speaks to you, don't you?

Grether: But can one resolve this problem? Can you bring back a feeling of loyalty towards the University of California, statewide or Berkeley, and at the same time to the School of Business or to your unit, or Political Science, you see, or whatnot?

Nathan: It's an interesting problem. Do we ever go back to the way it was before? It would have to be a different configuration.

Grether: Yes that's right, and I think this is what Kerr has in mind when he speaks about the need for the new giants.

To me, one of the most amazing phenomena now is to see Stanford coming up. Stanford now, in many fields--in our field it's rated number one in these polls, you see.

Nathan: Oh, ahead of Harvard Business School?

Grether: Yes, yes; now, out here on the West Coast. That's within the private university system, but it's a multiversity. It is a university with a variety of emphases, but with a very high-quality emphasis. They keep their numbers down. The private institutions can establish a ratio between numbers of students to resources that can't be done to the same extent at all in the public institutions. Stanford's under very good management in recent times, apparently, as one watches the results there.

Well, I think I'm getting almost exhausted myself.

Nathan: You've given us so much right now.

Grether: Do you have anything you would like to discuss further?

Nathan: Not at the moment. Perhaps after we have seen all the transcripts we can see if there are any additional points.

Grether: Well, I'll tell you what I would like to do Harriet, if it's agreeable to you. I would like to have an epilogue.

Nathan: That would be splendid.

Grether: For instance, one thing I haven't done that I wish to do is to refer to some of my associates, because there have been some people who I'd like to put into my record here, especially, for example, at the administrative assistant level, like Vera Mae Twist, you see.

Nathan: Right, yes.

Grether: There are other people also. I'd like to go through the whole record and then make a list of this sort of thing and some other things. We'll think of other things, I'm sure.

Nathan: I'm sure. But I think, yes, this is very important, because the names will be important, people whom you really knew.

Grether: That's right. And there are so many names. [chuckles] I'm amazed at how many hundreds of names.

Nathan: I remember a list we started with, and I thought it was enormous, and it's since grown.

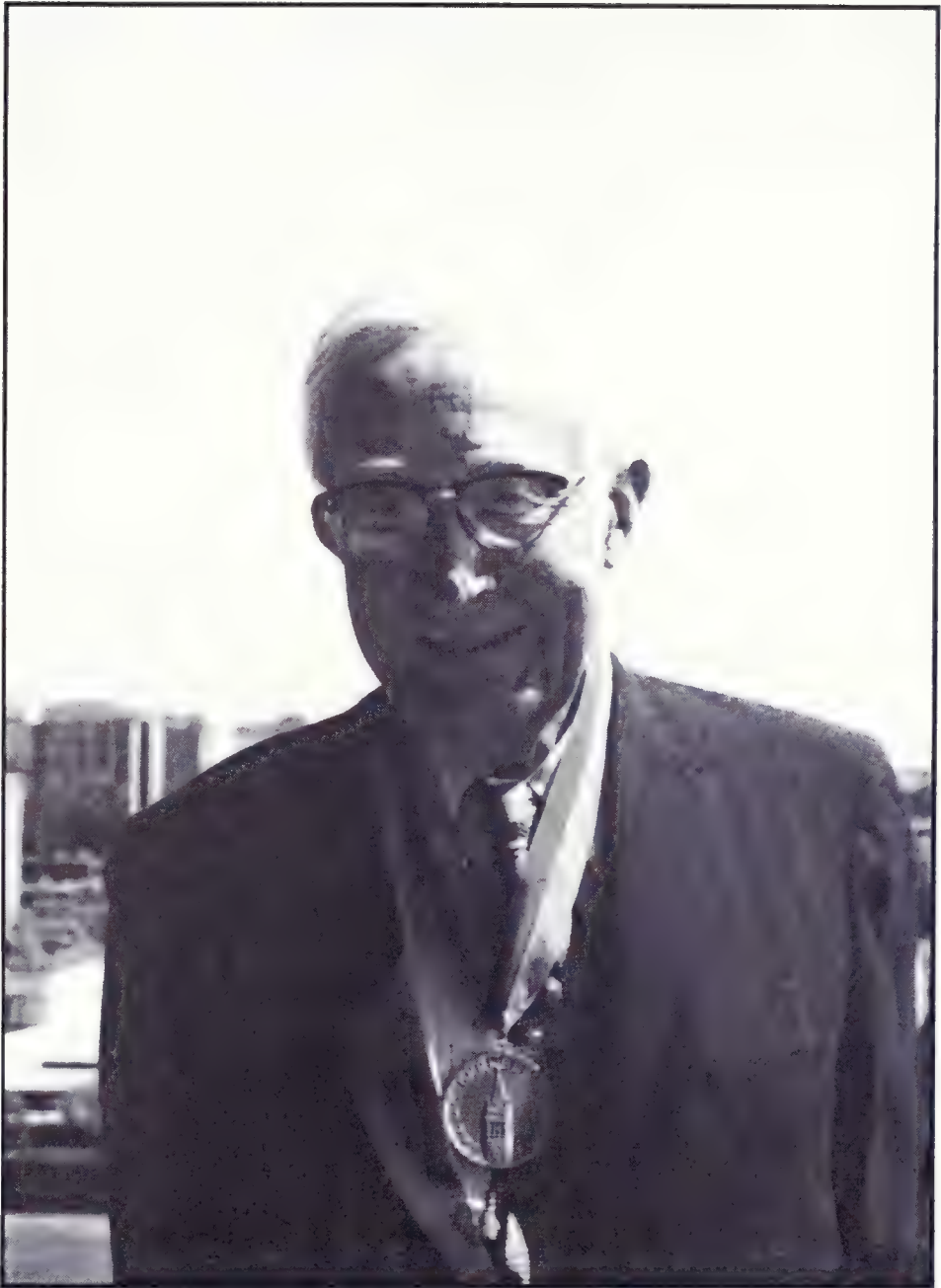
Grether: But this, in a sense, indicates the kind of world we're in, you see, and Berkeley, too. Berkeley is a center and focal point of a whole world, in a sense, so this radiates out in all directions.

Nathan: Right. Well, you are attached. That's really true.

Grether: [laughter] That's right, that's right, that's right.

Nathan: Fine. Well, shall we just end on that?

Grether: I think so, for the time being.



Ewald T. Grether wearing the University of California,
Berkeley Medal awarded 1984.

Photograph courtesy Haas School of Business

XXIX EPILOGUE: ON TAPE AND VIDEOTAPE

[Interview: June 9, 1987]

Introduction to a Partnership

Nathan:

This videotaped interview with Ewald T. Grether, Emeritus Professor of Economics and Emeritus Dean of the Schools of Business Administration, is produced through the courtesy of the Schools of Business Administration at the University of California, Berkeley, and with the kindness and expertise of David Green. This is also the last of a series of twenty-four tape-recorded interviews that will comprise Dean Grether's oral history memoir. With him is his wife, Carrie Maclay Grether, who has contributed three interviews to the memoir as well.

The Grethers' joint appearance symbolizes their long-term partnership in travel, family life, and his distinguished career at Berkeley. These adventures began in 1922, when economics professor Ira B. Cross chose graduate students Ewald Grether and Carrie Maclay as his teaching fellows. The first woman to hold such an appointment on the Berkeley campus, Carrie later chose the career of family and community life, provided the legendary Grether hospitality to faculty members, students, and visitors, and joined with her husband in a highly successful faculty member/faculty wife, two-person team. Professor Grether was prominent in the Academic Senate and served on numerous committees, is a stimulating teacher, has developed curricula, and has been active in public service in state and national governments. His strong interest in theory and relating to the real world led him into creative research and writing in this country and abroad. A noted and productive scholar, he has maintained his own files that encompass more than six decades of research materials,

academic records, and correspondence. When Dean Grether looks into his files for a document, he always finds it.

As the audio cassette recorder and microphone on the desk indicate, this oral history interview is also being recorded for transcription as part of Dean Grether's memoirs for the Regional Oral History Office of The Bancroft Library. The complete transcript of the interviews will be bound and deposited as primary research material in The Bancroft Library and other research libraries. I am Harriet Nathan, interviewer for the Grether memoir.

Now let's turn to Dean Ewald Grether and Carrie Grether to hear their perspectives on Berkeley and the University over the years. Shall we start way back when?

E. Grether: A few days ago, with our neighbors the Colvigs, we took a trip around the Bay Area. This was to celebrate Mrs. Colvig's and my wife's birthdays, which are very close together; this is an annual affair with us. We went out to Richmond and across the Richmond-San Rafael Bridge; this was during the daytime. When we approached the bridge we noticed giant work materials and workers going ahead on a new freeway. Then we went across to Tiburon and on to the other side of Tiburon to a lovely restaurant looking out on Angel Island and, down in the distance, the Golden Gate Bridge and San Francisco. After dinner it became dark, and we drove across the Golden Gate Bridge and then through San Francisco and across the Bay Bridge on the way home. Now, two things kept crossing my mind as we took this trip. One is how much we owe to construction workers and engineers and construction companies in this area. All of this is something I had no part in, except maybe indirectly by training managers and financiers and so on in our business program. The second thing was how different things are compared to 1922, when we arrived.

So let's go back a bit. These bridges were nonexistent then. The Golden Gate Bridge just celebrated its 50th anniversary; the San Rafael Bridge was built in 1957; the Bay Bridge was finished in 1936. Berkeley, when we arrived, was a lovely, semi-rural place. The University was a great place of 10,000 students, and faculty and students lived around the campus. There was not only interchange in the classrooms, but in the homes; we were always in the homes of faculty members. Now, this was the beginning. Since then, of course, a lot of things have happened.

Home Hospitality

- E. Grether: We first lived on Shattuck Avenue, and then in the place we have now. As we joined the faculty, eventually my wife, who likes to entertain, had students and faculty in our home. I'd like to have her talk a bit about that early period.
- C. Grether: Well, when we lived on Shattuck Avenue in kind of a shabby little house, every week Greth's evening seminar came out after the seminar. They had fun. I always had a snack for them; that was just par for the course. Later, when we moved up to the other house, the last meeting of the class was always in our home. I had dinner for them. Greth always said, "Now, you can't serve them more than one drink, because I want them to stay awake." So that was it, and the drink was very weak. But the atmosphere was so enchanting to these students, apparently, that since then I have had a number of the people who came say to me, "Well, you know, don't you, that all up and down the Pacific Coast you had the reputation of having the best martinis that anybody has ever made." They were so weak that a real martini drinker would have turned up his nose. But anyway, that's the way it seemed to the students. It was always a nice meeting.

After that we had other students as well. There were many Indonesian students here; we encouraged them to come. We just had them at odd times, all of them together, or one or two. One of the times we had one boy from the Middle East at our Thanksgiving dinner. He sat next to me. Right in the middle of the meal, and out of all context, he said to me, "And we don't live in tents." I said, "Oh, don't you? What made you say that?" He said, "Well, here everybody thinks that in the Middle East people live in tents." I said, "Well, how do they live?" "In a house much like yours," he said. The fact was that he thought all of us misunderstood the foreign students. So this was kind of a wholesome thing, I think, for him as well. I didn't think they lived in tents, but that's beside the point.

We also had faculty people, especially after Greth became dean, but we did before also. The faculty visited back and forth. We made a point of having the faculty people come in while Greth was dean. He always gave me the list of people to invite, which I did. He gave me a list one time, and I called the people. He came back a day or so later and said, "You can't invite So-and-So and So-and-So. I said, "Well, why

not?" He said, "They've had a terrible fight and it just wouldn't do at all." I said, "It's too late. They've both accepted." And, believe it or not, around our dinner table they made up their quarrel. So it was a good deed after all.

An Extra Guest, and Some Consequences

Nathan: Would you just say a word about your children? Didn't your son help serve, to the great astonishment of the Japanese visitors?

C. Grether: During the war our children were young teenagers, and we paid them to do the work of cleaning up and helping with the dinner, instead of having somebody else. Then the girls went off to college and Dave was coming along as a young teenager. Greth called up one day and said, "You know, there's a Japanese professor here. He has been around the United States." It was right after the war. "He's been snubbed. He looks so sick and so tired. I'd like to bring him home." I said, "Do so. We're having a dinner party tonight, and I'll just put on another place."

So this young man came, and Dave served him. I was worried about the rice I was having, because I thought, "I don't know the Japanese recipe," but it was too late. I just had to serve the rice. He looked at it when Dave served it to him, and he heaved a huge sigh and said, "Oh, rice. My native food." He just fell into that dish full of rice. Then he got up and helped Dave. He brought the food in and out and helped clear the table. He said to me, "Where do I put the garbage?" I said, "Right there in that sack." He helped all during dinnertime, and afterwards helped clear the table.

Well, years later we were invited--or Greth was, I guess, to a reception at the Japanese--was it the consulate?

E. Grether: SRI at Stanford had the international conference, inviting leading industrial and academic people. That's why this man had come; the Japanese consulate was having a party for this man. We didn't know who he was until we got over there.

C. Grether: We didn't even write an acceptance or non-acceptance, because Greth didn't know whether he would have time to go. That afternoon he came home, and he said, "I think it would be kind

of nice. Let's go." So we went over there, and as we came to the door, the man who met us said, "Oh, you're very special guests." We thought, "Well, that's what they say to everybody." But when we got to the reception line, who do you suppose was the guest of honor? Our Japanese professor. He was now the president of Tokyo University. We said, "How do you do?" to him and went on through the line. He broke away from the line all evening long. He would run over to say, "Where's your son David now?" Then he would go back. Then he would come back. "Do you still have that big oak tree near your house?" Just question after question; he remembered all the details of that party. So we thought that indicated the value, in a way, of having the people in.

The first party we had after we moved to our new home, we played bridge. After the party, Greth said, "Let's throw away our cards, hide our bridge tables, and never get them out again." He said, "There were so many interesting people here tonight, and we didn't have one word of conversation. We just played bridge." After that we concentrated on conversation, and we had so many wonderful conversations around our table and our fireplace. It was beautiful; worth all the effort.

Nathan: Oh, that's lovely.

Guests as Team Members

E. Grether: Well, we could go on like this. My wife, fortunately, loved to entertain, and she has been very wonderful from this standpoint as well as from many others. It made a big difference to me as well as to the faculty and students. There were some wonderful evenings, and I'd love to talk about them, but--

C. Grether: Let me say one more thing. One of the things I did was that when we would have a party, I would give everybody a job. One guest would carve, another guest would serve at the drinks table, or whatever. Somebody else would answer the door. I put everybody to work, so that it was a kind of a team problem. One afternoon we had a reception, and I put a very dignified ex-business executive at the table for the drinks, to help people get their drinks. The whole idea was to make people feel at home and at ease. I came out after a while, and here was this man in the kitchen looking through all the

cupboards. I smiled to myself and thought, "He feels at home. What does he want?" He thought there wasn't enough gin in the punch. He was trying to find the gin.

Nathan: That's real hospitality.

Growth, and a Loss of Easy Interchange

Nathan: How is it now? Is there this interchange now?

E. Grether: Well, let's talk a bit about that, because the years rolled on, and the old Berkeley disappeared. The small University of 10,000 disappeared. The University became thirty-some thousand; it could be 50,000 if we just turned ourselves loose. The University became part of a great statewide system under a master plan as well as under its own system, the Board of Regents. The little rural town disappeared also. We became engulfed in a great metropolitan area, and the whole atmosphere of the University changed. The students and faculty no longer lived around the campus. Some do. We're lucky; we live two miles from the campus. But they live all over the area. This original informal interchange in the home has disappeared pretty much. It means a loss, a very serious loss.

I've talked about this to Clark Kerr, who visits many universities, and he says this has happened many other places, too; this is not really a Berkeley phenomenon. The old interchange is gone. When we were down in Texas--I was down there in 1978 as a visiting professor in the springtime--I noticed it was gone there. Texas has forty-some thousand students. I saw each individual concentrated on his own interests. I had hoped to have lunch with a lot of the faculty at noon, but they weren't there, so I coined a phrase down there which I called "excessive suboptimization." I said, "In Texas you have excessive suboptimization: everybody doing his own thing without reference to the school or the university campus or whatnot." I came back with this in mind, and now I'm inclined to change the emphasis a bit. What has happened here and at Harvard and Texas and many other places is that--I'd like to call it a new form of individualism--the places are so big that informal relationships no longer exist in the homes to the extent that we used to have, and individuals are thrown on their own. But you see there still

remains a group problem. To whom do you adhere? Where do you belong in this place, in this university campus? Within the schools--they're so big, you belong to a department in a school, your own little group, you see. You don't think of the school as a whole.

Now, this is a national problem. The Harvard School of Business has worked at this a lot. They refused to have sub-departments, so the faculty paid more attention to the school as a whole than they would have if they were decentralized too much. One of my predecessors, Dean Calkins, became dean at Columbia. He found he couldn't do a really good job as dean there, and why? Because all the faculty had their offices downtown, their own little empires. There was no unity, no feeling of oneness in the Columbia School of Business, he said. This is something that's a general phenomenon that we have to recognize; that is, the old informal Berkeley relationship is gone. Now when the entertaining occurs, where does it take place? In the Lipman Room of this building [Barrows Hall], the Faculty Club, or some public place, done by a caterer; it's no longer in the home. That whole atmosphere has tended to disappear, and something is lost.

At the same time, there is a certain type of strength of individualism that's gained. The people who make their way in this are pretty tough, but they tend to stress their own interest, you see, more than anything else in this kind of a situation. Okay? That will take care of this, I assume.

Nathan: Absolutely.

A Dean Who Remained a Teacher

Nathan: Can we get you on to what happens to you when you become a dean?

E. Grether: Okay, before I answer your question I want to read something. One of the predecessor deans was Henry Rand Hatfield, a great man in the field of accounting. In fact, here is a republished copy of his book on accounting, a classic in the field. Henry Rand Hatfield was a great classical scholar and a wonderful human being. He was chairman of the department when I was asked to join the faculty. After I became a dean, he gave me a quotation which I have had up here in front of my

desk. It's from Bliss Perry, And Gladly Teach. I'd like to read it:

It is, I am told, an honor to become a dean.
But it is one dearly purchased if it means the
temporary or permanent end of a scholar's
productivity. The whole tenet of the American
institutions is to breed ten administrators to
one real teacher. I used to pass University
Hall with something of the small boy's dread
of passing a cemetery. There teachers lay
buried under their roll-top desks.

[chuckles] That's what Hatfield gave me when I became dean,
and I kept it right here where I could see it all these years.
He was a very great man.

Now, in the appendix to this oral history will be a
series of articles I wrote for Cal Business. One of them is
the chronology of deans. When I became dean I was happy to
find myself in very good company. I won't go over that, but
Carl C. Plehn is the first dean, Hatfield the second, and so
on down. Both preceding me and since, they've all been very
able people with international reputations. So I felt highly
honored to become a dean.

The circumstances were a bit curious. I became dean of
the College of Commerce. I was the last dean of the College
of Commerce and the first dean of the new set-up called
Business Administration. Sproul called me one time--after
Calkins had left to go to Columbia--and he said, "I'd like to
have you be acting dean." Well, I'd been acting dean in
1934-36, when Henry Francis Grady had been away, and I said to
myself, "I'll never take another appointment like this,"
because I felt handicapped; I wasn't really doing things for
myself. So I said this to President Sproul: "If you would
like to have me be dean, I'll be glad to talk to you. If not,
then no."

Well, we got together and we worked out a three-year
beginning appointment in 1941. That took us into the world
war. Then about that time I had to have surgery on my back,
so I couldn't accept Washington appointments, so I was here
except, later on, for special trips as consultant in
Washington. This was the beginning of being dean, during this

period. Unfortunately or fortunately, it lasted 20 years, an unbelievable tenure. During all this time, keeping this in mind, I insisted on teaching. And I did.

Nathan: Was it always marketing that you taught?

E. Grether: Well, I began teaching economic theory, for example, when I first began, a course that combined marketing and economic theory. Then eventually it was a seminar in marketing, yes. I stress this because many of my friends as deans give up teaching; they haven't time. But I insisted on doing it. Looking back on it from my own point of view, I'm very happy that it worked out this way.

Nathan: Can I interrupt just a moment? We'll take a brief break and be right back.

E. Grether: Okay.

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E. Grether: I mentioned that my first appointment as dean was for three years. The second year of that appointment we established the Department of Business Administration. So I was then dean and chairman of a department also, but the department was very small; about five or six people were transferred from economics, including myself. Some were still in economics part-time. My biggest immediate problem was to build a faculty in the School of Business Administration. We changed the name, label, from Commerce to Business Administration; we changed the four-year College of Commerce to a two-year undergraduate college with the graduate program, the MBA, on top of that. We put off the graduate school until the end of the war because we knew we would be deluged with a lot of returning veterans from the undergraduate program who had to be taken care of. So it worked out. I won't go through all of that.

The Faculty Wins a Role in Governance

E. Grether: But I would like to talk a bit about the problem of building a faculty. Just before we arrived in Berkeley there was what has often been called a revolt of the faculty in the Academic Senate. Although the Academic Senate appears in the charter

of the University, it had never been very important. In fact, Benjamin Ide Wheeler used the Academic Senate and the faculty chiefly for student discipline cases. He ran the University, he did the recruiting, and so on.

At the end of his tenure he said it was time now for the faculty to get in the act, and they did in a big way. They insisted that they participate in the governance of the University. A committee was set up with [Regent] J. K. Moffitt as chairman to negotiate with the faculty. This committee under Moffitt's leadership came up with a better system than the faculty asked for. The result is that in Berkeley we've had a very strong Academic Senate, beginning in this period just after World War I--probably the strongest system of faculty participation in the United States.

Now this is again one of the problems. Nowadays the new faculty members don't understand this. They don't want to serve on Academic Senate committees. They don't want to attend the meetings; they have trouble getting a quorum at the meetings. Recently one of the faculty jokers said, "Why, maybe we ought to have only a quorum of ten required," when there are hundreds of faculty, you see. This is a very real problem. People do not understand the role of faculty participation in governance, especially when they didn't have this background that we have now.

Building a Faculty: Scholarship and the Empirical Interest

E. Grether: Here I was, chairman of a department with six or seven members, and I had the pleasure and the honor of building a faculty. So far as I was concerned, I was happy with the normal University rules and standards and procedures, and I operated under them. But always when I was out recruiting or interviewing people, I had in my mind this wording: "Does he belong in the University at Berkeley? Would he fit in? Would he make his way in Berkeley?" This word "belong" was very important.

Well, I think we did very well. I won't discuss it in detail, but just take two or three examples. One is Clark Kerr, who eventually became chancellor and president. In fact, he was the only faculty member I have ever reviewed where I could say he was superb at everything, whether it was

teaching, research, public relations, public service, professional recognition, and so on. Take another example, Sherman Maisel, who became a member of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System. Or another example, Fred Morrissey in finance was on the state Public Utilities Commission. In other words, what I liked to have, myself, were people who are sound scholars, who are recognized for their scholarship, but who also have a strong real-world interest. I like to call it the empirical interest. We built that kind of a faculty, and it turned out, I think, to be very successful over the years.

There is this problem that the new faculty members, who I think have the same quality, don't quite understand the University as a whole. For instance, they don't join the Faculty Club. I found the relations in the Faculty Club very, very helpful to me. I liked to go over there for lunch and see my colleagues in other departments, but the new faculty don't do this.

Developing an Advisory Council

Nathan: Part of your interest in the real world--did that lead you to develop an advisory council?

E. Grether: Yes. Yes, this is a very interesting aspect. I knew that President Sproul had doubts about the old College of Commerce, and properly so, because there had been a recommendation to change that four-year undergraduate College of Commerce a number of times, and nothing happened. I needn't tell the whole story; it's in the appendix to this oral history. There are very important reasons why it didn't happen. Sproul heard from the business community that we weren't in step, and he wanted something done, but he wasn't sure what it should be.

So at the end of the war, I set up an advisory council of top business executives, presidents of corporations chiefly, with one exception: I brought Roger Traynor from the Supreme Court onto this. This worked very well. The business people liked to meet him, and he liked to meet them. It was a very nice interchange there. But I always insisted that Sproul preside at these meetings, and he liked to do it. Almost always one of them would entertain us at the Pacific Union

Club or the Bohemian Club (usually the Pacific Union Club) and we would have a business meeting after the very nice dinner.

Now, of course there we discussed our basic policies. One basic policy question was, what is our goal? Are we training students for the first job, or for careers in business? Almost all the members of the advisory council said, "We can take care of the first job, but you're training for careers in business." There was one exception, a very strong man. We lost him because he thought we should be training for the first job.

We didn't overlook the first job. Our students went out well trained in accounting and statistics and the tools of business so they could go to work, but we had a much longer-range view in mind: where they would be 25 years from then. This we felt was the essence of what we should be doing here. I'm sure this is continuing in our program and in our list of objectives.

I found the advisory council very, very helpful, and I always enjoyed my relationships with the business community. I got to know many of the men personally. I noticed that Sproul enjoyed getting their views, and it was very helpful. There is still an advisory council, called the advisory board. It's much bigger now than the one we had. We had one of about 12 or 15 people to begin with.

Nathan: Did they tend to serve for a short term, or as long as it suited everybody?

E. Grether: Well, there was an idea that maybe they should have short terms. But I insisted no; in a short term they wouldn't learn enough. So almost always we kept them on several years. If a man didn't attend, then we removed him, and they understood that. They had to be actively interested in what we were doing. Some of them stayed on quite a while and were exceedingly helpful. The man I had consulted most to begin with was Jean Witter of the Dean Witter company. He helped me select these people, because he knew the business community very well.

Nathan: He was an investment banker?

E. Grether: That's right. They have a type of approach, an overall view, which when I was in Washington I discovered, too. They are

very active in Washington. Their type of analysis fits an overall view; that's what they're doing all the time.

Style of the Nonacademic Staff

Nathan: Looking in the other direction, would you like to say anything about your relationship as dean and as a faculty person with nonacademic staff?

E. Grether: Oh, yes, I'm glad you mention that. I've always felt that this distinction we make between academic and nonacademic is artificial. Just like, I think, the distinction between, say, liberal arts and professional schools is artificial. We won't go into that one. But take this academic and nonacademic distinction. Actually, the people in the so-called nonacademic staff were as understanding, as loyal, and as helpful as they could possibly be. I'll take only two examples to illustrate, and I hope the rest of them will forgive me, because we haven't time to do more. I'll just take one here: Vera Mae Twist was my senior administrative assistant. I have an article about her, published in the Business Association News Bulletin, January 1964. It's a beautiful discussion, telling about Vera Mae.

She served under five deans. She was very experienced. She was a very outgoing type of person who knew everybody in the University. People liked her; she knew her way around; she was exceedingly helpful; and the students, they adored her. The alumni speak of her all the time with very great gratitude because she was so helpful to them. This article tells it very beautifully about her. She is still living in Piedmont; we see her occasionally.

Another one, just as an example, is Alice Colbath. She was the second in command in this group of administrative assistants. Alice was very cosmopolitan. I think she was born or lived in the Philippines, and was educated in France and Switzerland; she had a beautiful cosmopolitan background. She was almost the antithesis of Vera Mae in one respect: she liked to enforce the rules. So she was very good for Vera Mae and for me, too. She knew the rules. It was very interesting to see the two interact, because Alice was there with the rules all the time. She was very good as an advisor to the

students, especially graduate students. Unfortunately, she died of cancer a few years ago.

Those are just two examples of a group of people over the years who really undergird our program--the so-called nonacademic administrative assistants. They've been very, very helpful people over the years.

Women as Students

Nathan: Perhaps it's time to think a little about the students at this point. Do you want to say anything about the role of women?

E. Grether: Oh, yes. I'm glad you mentioned that also. Vera Mae is a good example. She had been an undergraduate in the program, but we didn't have very many women. In fact, if you go back to the beginnings of the College of Commerce, you'll find that business people thought of women as secretaries. Some of the schools of business or colleges of commerce had secretarial programs for the women, you see. They didn't think of women doing the other things involved in business.

Now that has all changed. Thank God, I'll say, because it needed to be changed. At present, just to give you an example, approximately half of the people in our undergraduate school are women. About one-third of the people in the daytime MBA program are women. About 25 percent of those in the evening MBA program are women. About 25 percent of the doctoral students are women. Women are in the process of arriving. They haven't arrived entirely, but when I look back on it, it's unbelievable. I can recall, for instance, one woman who got the CPA or came up for it. She was extraordinarily well trained, but she couldn't get a job.

Nathan: As an accountant?

E. Grether: Yes, that's right.

C. Grether: At first they wouldn't even give her the CPA.

E. Grether: That's right. It was amazing. Of course, Carrie went through this. She was the first woman teaching fellow, you see.

C. Grether: Let me interrupt just a minute here. I mentioned this to Dr. Cross, and he said, "Well, it isn't that we object to women. But very few women ever are qualified." He said, "You are one of the few women qualified to do this work." So the women weren't preparing themselves, either.

E. Grether: But they were. You see, the interesting thing is that we had very important faculty members who were women. Jessica Peixotto, for example; Emily Noble; Lucy Sprague Mitchell, the dean of women; and so on. There were women on the faculty, but the women students didn't come into our type of program because it appeared that it was not a good career. Now that's all changed. It's wonderful to see the change that has taken place.

Entry of Minorities

Nathan: That is certainly interesting. Would you like to say anything about the entry of minorities?

E. Grether: Yes. That's still with us. It's always been with us, but the nature of the minorities has changed. For example, for years we tried to recruit Blacks. We have a very small percentage of Blacks. They seem to like to go elsewhere. The Asians are here in numbers. It used to be, when we first came here, that we saw the Sikhs, with their turbans. They were a rather strong group, and some of them stayed and became farmers out in the Central Valley and so on. But now the Hispanics and the Asians tend to be the dominant minorities, and they're increasing in proportion. In fact, there are so many Asians who apply that they could take over if you took them all. It's wonderful to see them wanting to come. I'm told, for example, that 70 people from Korea applied for our doctoral program in one year. This is a very important aspect of our situation. In fact, the way it's going now, I suspect that by the year 2000 the Caucasians will be in the minority.

Nathan: They'll reflect the State of California?

E. Grether: That's right, that's happening in the State of California.

Graduates, Undergraduates, and the Migration of Courses

Nathan: It's interesting that the school has been able to be flexible. Did you get involved in issues of planning for undergraduate versus graduate school?

E. Grether: Yes. That's a long story. President Sproul insisted that our colleagues at UCLA and we at Berkeley put in budgets together, that we cooperate. Jacoby, the dean down there, and I became very well acquainted. We worked together very well. UCLA early on had a college of business, and then they got rid of it and established a Graduate School of Management. A lot of that change is more in verbiage than in fact. I've watched this in many places. If you don't have an undergraduate program offering some aspects of what we give, it will appear in the campus elsewhere.

At Stanford, for example, a man named Canning in economics gave accounting. Advertising will appear in a school of communications, for example--that's true of Texas--and you go right around. The program appears, not pulled together but as pieces scattered around. This is true of Columbia; they have a special studies program doing quite a bit of this sort of thing.

Nathan: Do you think it's better to have the offerings dispersed that way?

E. Grether: No, I don't think so, partly because of the difficulty of having a high-quality faculty. Also, you don't get the group thinking that's necessary in this kind of a situation.

Here we still maintain a two-year undergraduate school. Actually, from my point of view, it would have been better if we had kept the four-year undergraduate school. Why? Well, when we made the change from a four-year to a two-year program, the signals from central administration in Sacramento were that the junior colleges were our natural allies. It would be smart to make a break at the junior level and look for junior colleges for input, you see.

We were told that the College of Letters and Science would go along with this, but they didn't. They almost deemphasized the AA degree. Also, the junior colleges became community colleges, and they changed the whole nature of their organization. It's a different situation entirely. So

actually, I think a four-year undergraduate program would have been a strong program, because the students get a feeling of loyalty and knowing each other and of belonging that they don't get in the two years. But the two years is working very well. I think if you took a vote in the faculty, the two-year program would probably be supported by the majority now.

One of the problems is that we don't have a general college in this campus. The first two years usually are spent in the College of Letters and Science, with their reluctant cooperation. For instance, at one time we were allowed to advise the pre-business students. Then the College of Letters and Science went on an anti-professional binge, which happens periodically, and we were no longer allowed to advise these pre-business students because it was held we would advise them toward professional work with us. Well, we didn't do that. We wanted them to have a broad liberal arts background.

In fact, when I was dean, Leonard Crum (Professor W. L. Crum), who was one of the great statesmen of our faculty, made a study of the graduates of the College of Letters and Science and contrasted ours. Here's what he found: usually you had a limit on majors, like thirty units. When they got up to that, they took the next nearest field. The result was that when they came out of Letters and Science they were more specialized than our students were. Often. In fact, you see, that's why, again, I say this distinction between Letters and Science and Arts and Science and the liberal arts and professional schools is too sharp. We strongly urge having a background in the liberal arts.

Networking Beyond the Campus

Nathan: Could you tell us a little about the relationships you and the school have established beyond the campus, with other nations, business and professional societies?

E. Grether: When I was dean I developed a simile (I think I mentioned this in one of our tapings) that I was kind of like a spider sitting in the middle of a lot of webs. I guess nowadays this would be called networking. These webs go in all directions. They go out into the business community, like the advisory council and so on. They go out to the professional

associations and societies; all members of the faculty have some affiliation, some sort of professional society.

For example, at the end of World War II, I became chairman of what was then called the Industrial Plant Location Committee; later on it was called the Industrial Development Committee of the state Chamber of Commerce. Now, why would I want to do this? Because the state Chamber of Commerce at that time was almost a second government of California. It was a very powerful agency. President Sproul was chairman of one of its committees also, by the way, and we felt it important to relate to that. It was very, very helpful to me. Why? Because every three months we would have a meeting and look over the entire industrial development in the State of California. We had a research staff, and we looked this over, and I kept in touch that way, you see, for fifteen years with industrial development. For a brief period there, the state had a similar organization, and I was chairman of that, too. So I was involved here very closely with what was going on all over the State of California. It channeled back into our program. It was a very helpful to our program; I felt I was performing a service.

For example (here's one aspect of this), annually in Sacramento there is the so-called Sacramento Host Breakfast, which represents the state Chamber of Commerce, you see. The industrial leaders are invited there, and I was always invited, since I was active. I met a lot of people there whom often I would see only once a year, but it was very, very helpful to me.

Retired Business Executives and Teaching

Nathan: Did you ever have occasion to invite any of these people to lead a seminar or present something?

E. Grether: Oh, yes. Now, here's a problem. I believe strongly in bringing people from business into my class for two reasons: it's good for them, and it's good for the students. But you have to be very careful to advise them what to do. I had all sorts of experiences. For example, Ned Lipman, for whom the Lipman Room was named, wouldn't come and give a formal lecture. He would come only to answer questions submitted to him by students beforehand. So I had to go to the class and

say, "Now, what would you like to hear from Mr. Lipman?" and send them to him, and then he would come and take those questions. There were all sorts of variations here.

Also, there's an interesting situation here: the retired business executives who would like to be teachers. They were always available. You see, when you get through being president of a corporation, you're through. Oh, you may have this honorary thing, but your career is gone. A lot of them said they would like to come over and teach. Well, this was a real problem, because they didn't realize how tough teaching is.

We did this successfully with two or three cases. For example, Tom St. Hill had a company called Teagarden Products, which he sold to Safeway and he was out of a job. Tom worked very well on our faculty. He died recently. He would have the students in his home out in Lafayette. He was a very successful teacher, but often it didn't seem to work quite that well. It's much better to bring them in for individual appearances. And we have a program in entrepreneurship; Dick Holton runs this program, where this is being done all the time.

But I would tend to bring business executives into my undergraduate class or into my seminars as guests. I think one of the most sensational was Colonel Robert Roos of the Roos stores. He was a character. He was a very dynamic, hard-hitting character as a personality.

Disciplines and Their Relationships

Nathan: Did you also have occasion to bring political figures in to meet the students? I was thinking of perhaps legislators who would be interested in problems of business and finance in the state.

E.Grether: I did not do this myself. You see, we're in the same building here with the Political Science Department, and we relate to political science. Of course, you [the Institute of Governmental Studies] are involved there also. That's worth mentioning: why are we in this building with political science, economics, and sociology? Because we went through a period where we had a dream. The dream was that we ought to

know each other, and being in a position close to each other physically, we would interact better. For example, you people share the Kelsen Library; it's for political science and the Business School also.

Clark Kerr had very strong feelings along these lines. He and I worked together to try to build an interdisciplinary set of relationships here. We succeeded only to a degree that was not as high as we had expected. It never worked. I think part of it is this thing we talked about earlier. The University is engulfed in this great metropolitan area; people don't see each other in the same way as they used to. I think this would have worked better back in the early period, but it didn't really get off properly. So now the School of Business is looking for its own building.

History of Each Field in the School

Nathan: I understand that Professor Moonitz and others are working with you to capture the history of the programs in the school.

E. Grether: Well, this is the Moonitz-Grether/Grether-Moonitz program. We've undertaken a long-range program in which all the fields in our school will be reviewed and analyzed, and their histories developed. Moonitz has done this in accounting already. It's just been published; maybe you've seen a copy of it.

Nathan: I haven't, but I'd like to.

E. Grether: We want to do it by each field, and go back to the beginnings and tell the story. This [holds up book] is how we happened to have accounting. This is the copy of the book he brought in just a couple of days ago. He told the story in accounting, you see. We want to do this for every segment of our school, and go back to the very beginnings. When we get through, then we'll have a beautiful picture of what's happened in our area over the years. To some extent I have some of this in our series that I'm prepared to put in the appendix. But it's not complete at all.

Let's take one example.



Ewald T. Grether, circa 1989.

Photograph courtesy Haas School of Business

Nathan: I think perhaps I should interrupt you for a moment so that we can take a brief break and be right back.

[discussion of how much more time for interview]

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Nathan: Perhaps you could say a little more about this very interesting historical project.

E. Grether: Yes. This, of course, represents only our own program and its background, which goes back into the end of the last century. It will be a very exciting story.

Learning University History

E. Grether: Now, since I've been on so-called retirement I've had more time to do some things I've been wanting to do all my life--to learn a little more about the history of the University. It's rather surprising how little interest there is in the history of the University. People come in, they find themselves in a given situation, they get involved in their own interests, and they don't know the background at all.

For example, I've asked people who have been deans of Letters and Science if they knew there was a College of Social Sciences in the 1890s. They had never heard of it. This is literally true; that is, there was a collegial system in the University before there were strong departments. In the social sciences we had a College of Social Sciences before there were strong departments in the social sciences. That disappeared in World War I. They closed a number of these colleges that were in Letters and Science, and then at the end of the war they didn't revive the College of Social Sciences. Now I'm hoping to do more work on the history of the University in relation to the history of the state.

Regional Consciousness and the Pacific Rim

E. Grether: One of the things I discovered when I came here as a faculty member and went out into the business community was a very

strong regional interest. It surprised me. There's a reason for it, of course. Here we were on the rim of the United States, with the broad expanse of the Pacific Ocean on one side, and then mountains and desert going the other direction. These were people who had come here during the Gold Rush and so on--strongly individualistic type of people. They had a high sense of belonging to something different, you see.

This regional interest took many forms. I've done some research over my lifetime on regionalism, and I think it's a very important area. For example, when I was with the state Chamber of Commerce I led a delegation up to the Pacific Northwest to meet with the people up there to talk about common problems. We found them a bit cool; they didn't seem to be very interested. In back of it was their fear that we were trying to steal their water--really--because water is such an important issue still, and it's going to be more and more important. When I took this drive around the Bay the other evening, I said to myself, "All these people perched on all these mountains and in all these cities need water. Where is it going to come from? Suppose there's a dry year sometime?" The same problem. There are many other similar problems. This regional consciousness is still here in the State of California. I think we need to have more work done in this area, both on the region and on the history of the University in relation to this.

Wheeler, when he was president, took advantage of this feeling and went out and pushed the idea of having one of the great universities of the world here on the Pacific Rim. The alumni and the people in the state liked it, again because of the strong regional consciousness. That's one reason the University of California is as it is, a very strong university, one of the leaders in the entire world as well as in the United States.

Montana: The Ranch and the Lake

E. Grether: We've had an interesting aspect in our careers. Carrie, you know, came from Montana, and every summer I take her home. We've done this for many years. Since I've retired we always spend July and August in Montana. Now why do this? Well, partly for business purposes; she inherited a ranch up there from her father. That's another set of problems.

More important, we have a lake place, on Placid Lake. Our summer home address is Seeley Lake, the nearest post office. We have a set of log cabins there, and in this collection of cabins there's one I call my own. Every summer when I go up there I take two or three boxes of materials; I go out to this place, and I can hide out and work on problems. I've written books up there, for example, and articles, and all sorts of things. It's kind of amusing, because our friendly neighbors (I'll put it this way) don't bother the professor until four o'clock, because they know I'm out there doing my own thing. Then we go off and pick huckleberries or whatnot. We could go fishing, but that's kind of boring. That's lake fishing; it's not so much fun.

This is an opportunity to get away into a situation where the land mass is the same as California, and where the population is about 800,000. You get away from the congestion there, and you get a simplified view of things and of people quite different from what you get down here. But the chance to get away and reflect has really been a tremendously helpful experience for me, and I'm sure for Carrie also. She may want to speak about it herself; I don't know. [to Mrs. Grether] Do you have anything you want to say about that?

C. Grether: About reflecting?

Nathan: About Montana and what it means to you.

To Ranch or to Subdivide

C. Grether: Well, as Greth said, I did inherit this place from my father in 1953, but before that he told me it would be mine. He said, "Keep it." I said, "Why?" "Well," he said, "the East Coast is filling up. People will begin to come West. There's no other place. They'll go as far as they can to the coast, and it will fill up. Then they will have to move back, because there's no other way for them to go."

Well, his prediction has come true to some extent, especially in the Bitterroot Valley. We did keep it, and we loved it, and now all around us it's subdivided. We are almost the only real ranchers left in that area, because the ranchers succumbed to the high-priced development of

subdivisions. This whole valley is filling up with little houses built on five or ten acres; at the most they will be on a hundred acres. But ours is a beautiful open area, and we've kept it that way.

There is a family that has been doing the ranching on their own right from the very beginning; they lease it. They didn't want to at first, because they had had this experience. They would just put it into shape--it was a run-down ranch at that time; it had been a sheep ranch--and then they feared we would sell it because we could get a high price for it. We promised them no, we didn't want to sell it. So the man's son who began it is now almost ready to retire, and I think his son is sort of thinking maybe this would be for him, too.

The story is that this is almost the only open area right around there. We laugh, because we say our ranch undoubtedly sells a lot of other subdividers their homes there because it gives it a beautiful background. It's in the foothills, and it's lovely. So we go there.

At first we thought we would build a little house on the ranch. Then we decided not to do that; we would be breathing right down the back of the neck of whoever was doing the farming and the ranching. We had an opportunity to go to this lake, Placid Lake, which is about seventy-five miles away up toward Glacier Park. That's a beautiful area, all through there. This is a small lake without any commercial enterprises on it. We were fortunate; we found this log cabin place that Greth spoke of. It was built beginning in the '30s?

E. Grether: It was about then, yes. A family enterprise.

C. Grether: These people loved the woods and went there. There are quite a few people who live in Montana not because they do well there economically, but because they love the place. This was that kind of family.

So now we are very comfortable there. Greth, as he said, does a lot of his work there.

Nathan: Do you do any painting there?

C. Grether: Oh, yes. I do a little bit of everything there. I have relatives there, too, so that's nice for me. My father was one of three brothers who came from Pennsylvania. They, I

think, were land hungry. It's one of the reasons they came, because their family in the beginning had had a grant from William Penn and they gradually sold it off; you know how families will. So these three brothers didn't have much of a chance to get any land to speak of. They all came West and got land when it was cheap.

The banker up there said we should have our heads examined because we were keeping this land when we could sell it and get a good price. But the good price that we pay for it is that Greth helps to manage it, and we both go and enjoy it, and enjoy the clean, fresh air. Always when we step out of the car Greth draws a deep breath and says, "Ahhh, clean air." [laughter]

E. Grether: That's true.

C. Grether: You can't see the air up there, you know.

Nathan: Oh, I see; but you know it's there.

C. Grether: You can take a deep breath and find it. It is a beautiful area, and we love it and have enjoyed it all these years.

Nathan: That makes a beautiful companion to the bustle of Berkeley.

C. Grether: We plan to spend the two months there always and come back right away after Labor Day. So it makes a nice summer.

E. Grether: We've often congratulated ourselves on having the best of two worlds. We feel the dynamics of the Pacific Basin and of the whole world pulsating through Berkeley. We're in the middle of that for nine-and-a-half or ten months. Then you go up there, and it's a different environment entirely. And it allows one to do some reflective thinking. I've written one book, Marketing and Public Policy, up there. It makes a very nice contrast. I recommend it highly for everybody who leads a very active life to try to have an oasis of this sort someplace.

Federal Agencies and the Farmer

E. Grether: But in the meantime I had to become a dirt farmer. I tell my friends in agriculture, "You people are theorists." We

actually had to run this ranch. We learned a lot about farming first-hand. Also we found that the federal agencies with offices in Hamilton and Missoula are very, very helpful to us.

In fact, I would say this is probably one of the best examples of where government and industry work together to the advantage of both. That is, I think American agriculture is as efficient as it is partly because these government agencies went out and worked with the farmers. For example, they come out and make soil tests or soil surveys. They help us plan our ditches and irrigation systems, and often there's cost share. Recently we've been getting cost share on timber thinning; there's some cutover timber land on the place.

Nathan: What does "cost share" mean?

E. Grether: It means the federal government pays part of the cost of the improvement. For example, it used to be about half on this timber thinning; the federal government would pay half and we would pay half. It's to the advantage of both of us. It improves the timber stand, but also it improves things from our standpoint. But many people don't realize that this type of working relationship between the federal agencies and the farmers has been the essence of what's happened in agriculture, I think. Those people are very efficient. We've worked with them to our advantage time and time again.

Nathan: In timber thinning, who gets the timber? I mean, who takes what's cut?

E. Grether: Oh, what's cut down? Well, the people from the countryside come in and take it. They burn wood up there very heavily.

Nathan: [to Mrs. Grether] You were about to say something.

C. Grether: Oh, yes. When we started this, I said to Greth, "You talk."

Nathan: Why is that?

C. Grether: I know how these folks up here feel when they're talking to a woman. They want to hear a man. [chuckles] So he took over. He does the talking to the people when he's up there. As a result he has become involved in the management, and it's been very excellent management, let me tell you. He's just as good at that as he is at being a dean.

Nathan: I see. This is what the experience of the real world brings you to, right?

E. Grether: Sure; that's right.

C. Grether: We have very good relations with the people who lease it, and just enjoy the whole situation.

Regent Rodgers, and Berkeley in a Larger World

Nathan: Before we close this morning, is there any other comment you'd like to make?

E. Grether: Well, I think there's one comment maybe I should make, should follow up. The benefits we've had over the years are what I might call the flow of distinguished visitors who come through Berkeley. Not only foreigners but, for example, going back a good many years, when Clark Kerr was director of the Institute of Industrial Relations he planned a series of lectures, bringing in great American leaders. For example, Charlie Wilson, who was president of General Motors and Secretary of Defense, was one of those people. Sometimes I would act as chairman of those meetings. This has been true over the years. We have the Weinstock series of lectures on the morals of trade, where leaders in American industry and business appear.

C. Grether: And some foreigners, too.

E. Grether: And foreigners, too; that's right. This has been a very important aspect of our life. You're not provincial if you expose yourself at all in Berkeley, because there's such a movement of the whole world through here.

I'm interested in recent years to see the President's office and the University pushing the Pacific Rim type of development, and you've probably seen some involvement over there near your part of the campus. There was a Regent named Arthur Rodgers. I've asked Clark Kerr and other people who have been in the administration, "Did you ever hear of Arthur Rodgers?" "No." Well, Arthur Rodgers, from my point of view, was one of the most important Regents we've ever had. Before he became Regent he had toured the Pacific Basin in 1881-82. And he came back and gave the commencement lecture in 1883, in

which he talked about the great civilizations around the basin. He said Berkeley should become the center of these civilizations.

When he got to be on the Board of Regents he, with the aid of Cora Jane Flood of the Flood Foundation, established the College of Commerce. It's not because he wanted to push commerce, but because he wanted to have a vehicle for bringing Berkeley into contact, you see, with the Pacific Basin nations, and commerce was that vehicle. It is a very, very interesting development, and he had a tremendous influence because of that in the University system. For example, he chaired the subcommittee that recommended the appointment of Benjamin Ide Wheeler as President.

Nathan: It's very interesting. I seem to remember that the two of you were called the "Gateway to Berkeley" by foreign visitors?

E. Grether: Yes, that's right. The Japanese especially; they did that.

Nathan: That's a nice image.

E. Grether: Well, you can look up here and see these Japanese books on the shelves. Many of these Japanese scholars would come here and we would work together, and they would go home and write a book, which I can't read, and send me copies of it.

Nathan: Yes, but I see that it says "Homage to Grether" on the outside.

C. Grether: Yes, but they're not the only ones. I want to mention this one young man from India who came here, and he consulted various people on the faculty here. They all told him, so he said, that he would never make it, that he should go home. He was so depressed, because he wanted so much to be educated in this country. He came to see Greth. The result of that visit with Greth was that he stayed. He had a successful career academically. He decided to live in the United States, and he's had a successful career in the United States. He brought his Indian wife to live here, and they have children, and it's been a wonderful thing to see how Greth encouraged this young man. I'm sure he wouldn't be the only one who would have a similar story.

International Romance in the Seminar

E. Grether: Maybe we should tell the story about Dinoo. What do you think?

C. Grether: Why not?

E. Grether: We might end on a dramatic note. Years ago, a young man came here from India by way of the London School of Economics. His family were in the book publishing business in India. They were, in fact, the leading book publishers and booksellers of India, and still are. He came here because he had seen my work on resale price maintenance, which is an important aspect of publishing in the book industry.

Well, then we happened to go to Bombay and visit them, and they had a wonderful party for us at a country club. While we were there his little sister, who was a high school girl, became acquainted with us, and she said she wanted to come to Berkeley. The family said, "Well, if you do well in school, we'll do that." She made the best record they ever had in Bombay University.

She came as a graduate student and worked for her Ph.D. under my direction, you see. In the seminar there was a young fellow from a business family in Southern California. One evening about 11:00 our phone rang, and here it was this young man. He said, "I want to talk to you right away." I said, "Can't you wait? What's so urgent?" he said, "I want to propose to Dinoo, and she won't listen to me without your permission." [chuckles] You see, her father had died, and I was kind of a father figure, I think, to her. So Carrie said, "Have them come out for dinner tomorrow night." So we did. We talked it over, and I said, "Now, look. Here you're a Santa Clara graduate, a Catholic, and she is a Parsi Indian. Is that important?" Her reply was, "There's only one God." They've had a very happy marriage. She's on the faculty of San Diego State University, teaching marketing. He runs a big business, and he brings his problems home to her, and she uses them for case material in her teaching. They have a couple of boys.

When her brother comes to this country, he calls us up all the time. Russi Taraporevala is his name. He gives an annual talk to the business community, and has been doing this for 23 years now, on the budget and on the economic outlook in

India. He does this regularly, and we're on his mailing list to get this material.

This romance that happened in my seminar, I think, is maybe a good place to stop.

Nathan: Exactly. After all, you started with Ira Cross's seminars, and you're just carrying on the tradition. Thank you both very much.

C. Grether: It was a pleasure.

[some discussion of videotaping procedures]

Nathan: You know, one thing that strikes me is that, possibly as a result of all your experience, you both speak so easily. I would expect you [Dean Grether] to, after all your years of lecturing, but I notice that you [Carrie Grether] have that quality. You know, you don't gulp.

C. Grether: Well, I think I owe that to my high school public speaking teacher. I have a feeling there are a great many people who are speaking who should have had a similar course.

Green [the video man]: Boy, I'll second that.

Nathan: Exactly.

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California

University History Series

Carrie Maclay Grether

PARTNERSHIP AND A CAREER AT HOME

Interviews Conducted by
Harriet Nathan
1980 and 1985



Carrie Maclay Grether.

Painting by Peter Blos
Photograph courtesy University Archivist

INTERVIEW HISTORY

Carrie Maclay Grether was part of a spectacularly successful wife-and-husband faculty team, and also a respected leader in her own right. She was a disciplined thinker, thanks in part to her training and lifelong interest in economics. She had the energy and will to work hard and still harder for what she found important. She also possessed a generous capacity for humor, zest and enjoyment.

She had a knack for recognizing what people needed, and finding ways to provide it. At an early age she saw that strong, educated women would need to have at least three options in life, and to chose among them. They included a professional career; a profession combined with a family; or a homemaker's "career at home." In the last she included volunteer involvement in the community, seen as an expression of love. While she had been strongly influenced by Jeannette Rankin and the early feminist tradition of Montana, she found no conflict in choosing the partnership of marriage with a focus on home and family conducted with professional expertise. She said it was fun to spend time with their three children and the children's friends, to study child development and nutrition. As a dean's wife, she enjoyed feeding and entertaining faculty members and administrators, students and foreign visitors in the Grether home. She simultaneously cultivated an intellectual partnership with her husband "Greth," by continuing to read deeply in economics and traveling with him.

Carrie Grether was an early advocate of quality child care, but her interests covered the whole path of life from babyhood to old age. For example, she would not allow a cooperative nursery school to close, and devoted many hours and constant effort to assure its survival and success. She refused to accept the argument that something worth doing could be "too much trouble." She recognized that mothers of young children needed time for outside interests and helped to develop St. John's Community Center into a facility that provided Berkeleyans with child care. In addition, she promoted a lively series of activities for seniors.

Carrie Grether also spoke out for the interests of University people. She and Kay Kerr were the two women who served on the building committee for the Haas Clubhouse and sports facilities at the Strawberry Canyon Recreation Area above the Berkeley campus. Several men on the committee argued in favor of one swimming pool deep enough for diving and long enough for a good swim. On the other hand, Kay Kerr and Carrie took the position that the children of faculty members and students needed a shallow pool for safe play. When the committee moved to take a vote in Kay Kerr's absence, Carrie spoke up to support the children's pool. It was built. She observed dryly that sometimes a woman on a committee would find it necessary to be somewhat assertive if she was to get anything done.

During the sixties she watched the under-thirty flower children with interest tinged with sympathy and understanding. An accomplished and prolific artist, she captured some of their images in a painting of young, lightly clad dancers. She called it "A Happening in the Park," or "Flower Children," suggesting both the energy and the dream-like quality of the celebration, as well as its undercurrent of sadness.

Campus observers consulted by the interviewer before the Grether memoir described Carrie Grether as an equal partner with her celebrated husband, a significant contributor to civic affairs, campus history, and volunteerism. Further, they said she held interesting views, had wide areas of experience, and knew what she was talking about.

When she agreed to be interviewed, she set the time to follow the completion of her husband's planned series. His twenty three sessions concluded in December 1979; Carrie Grether's first interview took place near the end of January and the second on February 1, 1980. When the issue of a possible third session arose during a review of the interviewer's proposed outline, she agreed to see the first two transcripts before deciding on the third.

Throughout the years of revising Dean Grether's working schedule, she remained the interviewer's good-humored ally in the effort to push the memoir along. In the 1980s, the delays took a fortunate turn. The five-year hiatus when Dean Grether put off the full review of his transcripts in order to deal with other professional demands coincided with major changes in Montana water rights and issues in the management of Carrie Grether's ranch.

The linked issues including land use, mineral rights, residential and industrial development proved so compelling that she agreed to provide a third interview in mid-October 1985. When it was transcribed and lightly edited like the first two, she reviewed the material, responded to additional queries, made a few corrections, and approved the full text.

The Carrie Grether in the Peter Blos portrait decades earlier was a vibrant young woman with fashionably curled hair and a thoughtful air. Carrie Grether in person in her eighties had her white hair cut becomingly short and the clarity of her gaze was very much the same. To meet the interviewer in the livingroom of the Grethers' North Berkeley home, she wore a well-tailored dress of her own creation. Her manner was cordial and informal, with the ease of one accustomed to welcoming children and adults, friends and strangers to her home.

All three of the two-hour interviews took place in the morning at the diningroom table where uncounted numbers of colleagues, students, visiting academics and other friends enjoyed Carrie's hospitality. She commented that parties, from intimate dinners to large football gatherings, were no trouble. She did not resort to caterers for help;

when family members were on hand they too served as hosts. Typically, so did the guests, who were pleased to have an assignment from Carrie. This was part of her double agenda, to look after each guest, and to be sure that one who might be shy or new to the group had a job that connected with many other guests. A true home careerist, Carrie organized matters so that she too could enjoy the parties, and always attended the games along with everyone else.

The diningroom looked out on a huge, handsome oak tree. There, Carrie recalled, a small neighbor boy, consumed by curiosity, had hung by his knees the better to see inside and watch the Grethers' guests. When his mother chided the boy for peeping, he answered that it was all right. Why? "Because Mrs. Grether likes me," he said. And of course she did.

Two years after the conclusion of her third interview session, Carrie Grether and her husband presented the 1987 Epilogue that appears as his 24th interview in this volume. This venture was somewhat different from the audio-taping for the oral history; set in his office like his other interviews, it was video-taped by the Schools of Business Administration for use in teaching. The Epilogue gave both Grethers the opportunity to interpret, summarize, or repeat highlights of material they had treated in their own tape-recorded interviews. Both were poised and eloquent during the session, commenting with equal mastery of the material.

Harriet Nathan
Interviewer/Editor

February 1993
Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library
University of California, Berkeley

On January 10, 1993, Carrie Grether died at the age of ninety-three. Two of her friends and colleagues, Kay Kerr and Ruth L. Huenemann, wrote appreciations of her life on their behalf and that of many others. Kay Kerr in September 1991 included her thoughts about Carrie as part of the Introduction her husband Clark Kerr wrote for the Ewald Grether oral history memoir. Ruth L. Huenemann wrote and spoke in remembrance at the memorial service on January 15, 1993.

Their remarks are presented here.



THOUGHTS ABOUT CARRIE GREETHER--by Kay Kerr

Carrie Grether has led a life of special interest because of her many diverse accomplishments. Growing up on a large Montana ranch had little in common with her life as a young teaching assistant in economics and then as the wife of a renowned professor at Berkeley. She wove her earlier and later lives together, for nearly every summer she and her family were back at the ranch participating in its operations. And then, during the school year, she held many decision-making positions which influenced a wide variety of activities.

Lucky was the group that had Carrie as a member. Faculty wives, foreign students, senior citizens, day care centers, the University YWCA, St. John's church, countless individuals and her beloved family were among those who benefited. Carrie recognized needs and influenced directions over many decades of change, contributing to the wellbeing of her family and a wider community. So many of us greatly admire the easy way in which she played her several roles of service to others.

Kay Kerr

September 1991
Berkeley, California

REMEMBRANCE OF CARRIE GREETHER--by Ruth L. Huenemann

Without doubt, one of the blessings of my life has been my friendship with Carrie Grether. I am pleased to have this opportunity to tell you some of Carrie's attributes that made knowing her a precious experience and a visit with her and her husband so rewarding. I cannot think of her without her husband Greth (as she called him), for they complemented each other so that each made the other even more remarkable. As I recall, they deferred to each other in every conversation.

The first adjective I think of in trying to describe Carrie is unpretentious. She was obviously highly intelligent. She had a good mind and a remarkable memory. She was well informed on many subjects: economics (her major field in college), politics, literature, art. In regard to art, I must mention that she herself was an artist. Her paintings decorated her attractive house and covered the walls of her garage as well. (Many were exhibited at St. John's.) Despite her knowledge and talent, she was, as I have mentioned, totally unpretentious. I never heard her mention her accomplishments.

As I have already implied, she was not at all self-centered, but interested in other people and situations outside of herself. This non-self-centeredness was a second attribute I greatly admired. Her conversations dealt with matters and people in the community, in church, at the University, and in the world at large. I never heard any comments about aching knees, impaired hearing, failing eyesight, or other such items we older folks tend to talk about. Her attention and interests lay outside of herself. She seemed to realize that life was a gift and should be so lived. She was selflessly involved in many aspects of it.

Nor did I ever detect any jostling for position between her and her husband. He admired her talents and respected her for them and vice versa. A visit with them was always an enjoyable and rewarding experience.

Hers was a life we may well celebrate and emulate for its lack of pretension, its interest in people and matters outside of herself, and its appreciation of life as a God-given gift.

I feel privileged to have known Carrie Grether.

Ruth L. Huenemann

January 15, 1993
Memorial Service
Berkeley, California

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name Carrie Virginia MacLay
Date of birth May 29, 1899 Birthplace Lolo, Montana, U.S.A.
Father's full name David Richardson MacLay, Jr.
Occupation Rancher Birthplace _____
Mother's full name Carrie Virginia McClain MacLay
Occupation Teacher Birthplace Iowa
Your spouse Ewald T. Grether
Your children Carrie Virginia, Susan MacLay, David MacLay

Where did you grow up? Lolo, Montana

Present community Berkeley, Calif.

Education BA degree + 2 yrs. Graduate

Occupation(s) Housewife

Areas of expertise _____

Other interests or activities _____

Organizations in which you ^{have been} are active U.C. Berkeley Women's Groups,
St. John's Presbyterian Church, University YWCA, Political Groups,
Mothers Clubs, etc.

CARRIE MACLAY GRETHER: PARTNERSHIP AND A CAREER AT HOME

XXX FAMILY AND EARLY YEARS IN MONTANA

[Interview 1: January 25, 1980]###

Nathan: Shall we begin with your growing up in Montana and your family there?

C. Grether: Okay. Well, I was born on a ranch in the western part of Montana near a little town called Lo Lo. My father was a rancher. He had come out from Pennsylvania when he was eighteen. He had dropped out of school after high school, and his mother didn't want him to come to Montana until he'd finished college. He said, "After I've saved \$1,000, I'll come back and finish my schooling." He had two brothers and a sister out there already, older than he.

My grandmother told me that she came out to visit after he'd been there a couple of years. The first thing he said to her when he saw her was, "Mother, I have my thousand dollars, but I'm not going back. I'm going to get married." So he married my mother instead of going back to go to college.

Nathan: I see. What were their names?

C. Grether: Their names were Maclay, and it's all one word.

Well, my mother died when I was three. There were five of us children in the family; I was the fourth. So we had a motherless home, then, for quite a long while. We had housekeepers when they were available. There were not very many people in Montana, so there were times when we had no housekeepers, and we all had to learn to do our share, whatever it might be. I can remember standing on a little chair beside the table to slice and cook potatoes for breakfast, so we began when we were pretty small to do our share in the family. I think this was important to me, because I have always had this feeling

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that everybody in a family does a share, and when I came to having my own family this was part of the philosophy.

Country School

C. Grether: I went to a country school for the first nine years of schooling. I started when I was five. There was seven years' difference between me and the next one older. I started school when I was five because my father said I raised holy Hell when the other kids went off to school and I couldn't go along. So he went to the school board and asked them if it would be all right for me to come, and they accepted the idea, and I started when I was five. I had an early start in school and I loved it, I must say, right from the very beginning.

Nathan: What sorts of things were you taught?

C. Grether: In school?

Nathan: Yes. Was it rather basic reading, writing, and arithmetic?

C. Grether: Basic. We had a great deal of singing in school, so we had quite a lot of that kind of music. There was no instrumental music. We were encouraged to read widely, and there was a good school library which included stories, which I suppose we would call geography and this sort of thing, about other lands and other people. Then we had reading and arithmetic and spelling. We'd have spelling bees; we'd spell each other down, you know. I suppose you'd call it basic education.

There were two rooms; the big room and the little room, they were called. The little room was from beginning school to fifth grade, and the big room was fifth through ninth, and it was a great event when you graduated to the big room.

Then, from there on, we went to Missoula, to the county high school, and that meant living away from home.

Nathan: In this first school, were these mostly the children of ranchers?

C. Grether: Yes.

Indians and a Brown-Eyed Daughter

Nathan: Were there any Indians?

C. Grether: No Indians there. The Indians were on their own reservation. They came quite often because the Bitterroot Valley, where I lived, had been an Indian reservation and they had the right to come through for hunting. They dug the roots of the bitterroot flower, which is what gave the valley its name, and used them for medicinal purposes. They came into the valley in late summer and early fall, and they also came, oftentimes, to do some work.

I might say that my family was very friendly with the Indians. When my mother died, I was told that a great many of them came from the reservation, which was quite some distance away, and sat outside on the walk which we had and the stairway. They just sat there as sort of a wake, as it were, for quite some hours, without saying anything, and then just got up and left.

My father was friendly with them. He was a cattle trader, and they had cattle. He was very impatient with people who treated the Indians with little or no respect, and there were some like that. In fact, the chief of the tribe was a very good friend of his, and when my mother died he wanted to adopt me. They were childless--they'd lost their only son--and I had brown eyes, so I could pass all right. My father didn't want to give me up, and apparently it caused a little problem for a while between the two of them. Duncan Mac Donald was so disappointed. I suppose that he and his wife had talked it over and felt this was just the answer.

Nathan: Duncan Mac Donald was the name of the Indian chief?

C. Grether: The Indian chief.

Nathan: Is that Blackfeet--?

C. Grether: No. Flathead Indians. My father told me that every time they would see each other after that, he would always inquire about me--how was I doing, and so on. When I was sixteen, in high school, I had to write a paper about somebody, so I chose Duncan Mac Donald, and I did a little research about him. About that time he came to Missoula, which is where I was going to school, and my father took me over to meet him. We had a nice conversation, and I had a very nice letter from him about his thoughts and so on, so that was kind of interesting.

My little sister, Emily, had blue eyes and it bothered her, because the Indians said, "No like you, Blue Eye."

So they were there at our place quite often, working, and that was early on. Later on, they didn't come so much.

Ranch Life

Nathan: As a young child, did you learn to ride

C. Grether: Yes, we rode horseback all the time. We rode to school, and we rode to Sunday school if the family wouldn't take us. We went regularly to a little community church there, and usually the whole family went, but sometimes there were Sunday school things or something. My little sister and I would ride two on the same horse. We had two or three horses.

It was interesting about horses. We had one little horse that the children all rode who wouldn't let the hired men ride her. She'd buck them off, but she was just wonderful with children. Horses are very interesting animals, really.

Nathan: Were you children, then, responsible for caring for that horse, or was somebody else?

C. Grether: Somebody else cared for the horse because we were not permitted to go to the barn very much because of the danger, I suppose. Somebody else always took care of the horse. You see, we always had hired men who lived in their bunkhouses, but they came to the house to have their meals.

Nathan: They ate with the family?

C. Grether: They ate with the family. They would take care of the milking of the cows and taking care of the horses and all this sort of thing, and doing the harvesting.

Nathan: So in addition to cattle, your father grew what? Wheat?

C. Grether: Wheat and hay. He was kind of a collector of ranches, and sometimes he would buy a ranch that would have a nice orchard on it. Then for a while we would be having apple-picking time and apple-butter-making time and so on. Eventually he always pulled

the orchards up because they took too much time. He liked to do things in more of a big-sweep sort of way. He was essentially a cattleman, and sheep; he had sheep also. In fact, he was one of the first persons to bring sheep in there; he brought sheep into that part of the valley.

Then he remarried when I was twelve, and from that time on we had a stepmother in the family. But by this time the older members of the family were away in school pretty much entirely, and my little sister and I were the two who were there. She's twenty months younger than I.

Politics and Discussions

Nathan: I wondered if your father had much interest in the politics of the state?

C. Grether: We were a politically oriented family in the sense that he had great interest in politics, but he himself did not participate actively, openly. He would use his influence. He came from a political family in Pennsylvania; his ancestors were the first two United States Senators from Pennsylvania. His father was a state senator. So there was this strong political interest. In fact, around our table he had many, many discussions about politics. We were all encouraged to argue about politics.

Nathan: The children, too?

C. Grether: The children, too. We all would get into these big discussions. Often we'd take opposite sides, but basically we always agreed. We'd have these big arguments, and we had one rule, which my father enforced quite rigorously: you could use any device in talking about this as you wished, but you were not allowed to make a personal comment (derogatory) about anybody who was arguing against you, nor were you permitted to stay in the argument if you got angry. So it cut down on this business of getting too emotional about it or being unpleasant, but we could just talk as fast as we wanted to. It was good training, actually, because you learned to think quickly, you know, and I've used it quite a number of times [chuckles] when I felt I needed to, this technique that I learned right there.

We used to have Fourth of July picnics. Fourth of July picnics were studded with not only food but political discussions

which got very loud and rousing sometimes, but they were always fun.

But as for being active politically, he never was.

Nathan: I was thinking how that must have stretched your mind, to be one of the youngest and still participate in this.

C. Grether: Well, I suppose it did. I suppose it did. But anyway, we all learned to enjoy it, and I still do, actually.

High School and College in Missoula

Nathan: After you got through those first nine grades, then you went away?

C. Grether: To Missoula, which was about fifteen or twenty miles away. My sister was older and in the university then. I had cousins who were our same age who were also in high school. So the three cousins, my sister, and I took a little house and lived in Missoula. We did that for a number of years.

A sister of my father's was widowed, and she came and lived in Missoula, and we lived with her until we were in college. Then we went to various places to live. We didn't always live together then. But the cousins were in school there at the same time we were. You see, the University of Montana is in Missoula, so when we graduated from high school we went directly into the university there.

Nathan: That must have been a very great change, in a sense, to live away from home, even though you were with cousins and your sister, and later with an aunt.

C. Grether: Yes. But I was terribly disappointed that I didn't go immediately after the eighth grade. I had talked to my father about this, and he didn't say no, I couldn't do it. But he said, "Well, get good grades, and we'll see what you can do."

Nathan: Did you get good grades?

C. Grether: Oh, yes, I did. I always had good grades, and not only that, but living in the country as we did with all different degrees of-- oh, what shall I say? Well, there were poor whites and there

were uneducated people and educated people. My language was very careless, but I just whipped my language into shape that last year, when I was in eighth grade, so that I wouldn't be saying "he don't" instead of "he doesn't" and things like that, you know. And then not to be allowed to go.

Nathan: Did he say why?

C. Grether: I wouldn't talk to him. I went in my room and locked myself away for days and wouldn't talk to him. I wouldn't go to the meal table while he was there. He'd come to the door and say, "Please, I want to talk to you," and I wouldn't talk to him. I was so disappointed. But years later I heard him say, "Well, she was just too little. I couldn't let her go away." [laughter]

Nathan: It's easier to understand now than it would have been then.

C. Grether: I understand it now, but at the time I was so disappointed.

Nathan: Such a blow.

C. Grether: I really loved it when I went to town to school. We could come home on weekends, which we usually did.

Nathan: Did you come home, then, for Christmas and holidays?

C. Grether: Always home for holidays. Oftentimes when I was in school I would just break a date to go home and talk to my father, because he was a very interesting man, an exceedingly bright person, more interesting than anybody I knew there, really. So I'd come home to talk to him oftentimes, and he used to say, "Well, I don't think the young men like that." Well, that was my privilege, I thought. [laughter]

Looking for Graduate School

C. Grether: Then, about halfway through the university, I got the idea that I wanted to go to graduate school. I had started out thinking that I would be an art major and go into commercial art. In high school I was really very good in art. I took prizes at the local fair and so on. But then I got over into this other area, which was really far more interesting to me, and decided I would like to go to graduate school, especially to Columbia. Many people that I knew went to Columbia.

Nathan: That was in New York?

C. Grether: In New York. My father thought that was a good idea at the time, when I talked to him. Well, when it came right down to going to New York, it was the same story over again.

Nathan: Ah, you were still too little to go?

C. Grether: Too little. His little girl, you know. [laughter]

Nathan: Yes.

C. Grether: He didn't forbid me to go, but when I found out how he felt, I just said, "Then I'll not go," and I didn't, and I was terribly disappointed.

But I got a little job at the university, a part-time job, and my stepmother became ill and came to California to recover for a number of months. I lived at home and drove back and forth; by that time we had a car. When I first started going to Missoula, we just had horse and buggy and we went back and forth on the train.

So I saw the professor who had been the economics professor, and he encouraged me to write for fellowships in various places, which I did. I wrote first to the University of Illinois because my history professor was from Illinois, and the chairman of the Illinois Economics Department had attended the University of Montana at one time. Well, he wrote back and said that he had done his level best to get the faculty to accept me as a teaching fellow, but they said they had never had a woman and they were not going to have one now.

Nathan: About when was this?

C. Grether: That was in 1921, '22, around there. So then Dr. Underwood, the economics professor, received a letter from Dr. Cross, here at the University, asking if he had any likely candidates for fellowships, because he needed teaching assistants, and Dr. Underwood asked me to write.

Nathan: So I gather he said, "Yes; indeed, I do."

C. Grether: Yes. So I did write and got the credentials and everything to him, and didn't hear for quite a long while. One day I got a letter from him. It was a long letter, in which he said that

they had decided they would like to have me as a teaching assistant; then the legislature cut their budget and they couldn't have the teaching assistants they wanted, that they had planned on. Well, I don't believe I even finished reading the letter. I just dropped it in the wastebasket. I was at the university, at my job, at that time, and I thought to myself, "That's the kind of letter they write to people when they don't want them." I didn't save the letter.

The next year, Dr. Underwood got the same letter from Dr. Cross, and Dr. Underwood asked me to write again. He was an awfully nice person, and rather than say, "No, I'm not going to," I just said, "Okay." In a month or so, he asked me, "Did you write to Dr. Cross?" "No, I haven't written yet." "Well, will you do that?" "Okay." I had no intention of writing to Dr. Cross. Finally, as the deadline came, the last day which would be acceptable for a letter to Dr. Cross, Dr. Underwood got so he asked me, first every two weeks, and then every week, and finally he asked me every day or twice a day. The man just nagged me into writing a letter to Dr. Cross, renewing my application for a fellowship. To my great surprise, I was accepted. [laughter] So I've always been very grateful to Dr. Underwood.

Nathan: He obviously really cared about what happened to you.

C. Grether: He did, apparently. There were two of us who came that year from the University of Montana, but I was the only girl, the first girl to be accepted as a teaching fellow in his IA class. It was a big, big class.

Nathan: This is Econ IA?

C. Grether: Yes. So I had kind of a unique position right then, and it was very pleasant. I must say, I enjoyed it thoroughly. We didn't get very much money, but we got enough to get along, and we had much fun. That's where I met Greth. He also was a teaching fellow for the first year that year, so we came in together. He was a hard worker. I got quite a lot of attention from almost everybody else but Greth.

Nathan: Aha.

C. Grether: One day I said to one of the boys that Greth was kind of a snob or something. I made some kind of derogatory comment. He said, "You know, he's an awfully nice fellow. I believe you'd like him

if you got acquainted with him." And, sure enough, I did.
[laughter]

Nathan: He just intrigued you.

C. Grether: Yes.

Jeannette Rankin, Montana, and Careers for Women

Nathan: I do want to go on with this part of your story, but perhaps I might ask you to think a moment about Montana and if you have any notions about why Jeannette Rankin was able to attain an important post, and whether there was a different view about women there.

C. Grether: There was a lot of feminism in Montana when I was a student, a great deal of emphasis on women's rights. Montana was the first state, I believe, to give women suffrage.

Nathan: Yes.

C. Grether: Jeannette Rankin came from a very prominent family and was very well liked personally. She was just a delightful person. So she decided to run for Congress, and the whole temper of the time there was for women to have their full rights, to have careers.

Then, after World War I especially, it was emphasized that women should have the right to have a family or not to have a family. About that time (it was not just in Montana, but pretty much all over) I can remember reading articles in magazines--oh, I think, such as Harper's or the Atlantic Monthly or something--on the danger of zero population, that educated women were not having enough children. So there was this feeling about, and it was very strong in Montana.

This, I suppose, helped me and may have been one of the reasons why I had such a strong desire to have a career of my own, because it was in the air. Many of the girls I knew were going to graduate school, and we had women on the faculty there. So I think that Jeannette Rankin was just a symptom of the way people were feeling.

Also, there was quite a strong populist movement in Montana, especially in the eastern part of the state, so there was a lot of political thinking going on.

Nathan: At your dinner table conversations, did feminist issues arise? Did your father express himself on this?

C. Grether: No, I don't think so. I think mostly we were just talking in terms of national issues and local political issues, which involved taxation and this sort of thing. But feminism, I don't think so.

My stepmother had been a businesswoman before she was married and then was the postmistress, and she, too, helped. My father was a little Victorian in his idea of what girls should do. It was all right with him for them to teach. I was determined not to be a teacher in Montana, because all of the girls I knew who had been teachers in Montana went off to some little town and married one of the local people, and I just was determined not to do that.

I thought I didn't want to get married; I wanted to have a career. I early began thinking about going to faraway places. I had great curiosity. I was an avid reader as a child and I read a great many stories about other parts of the world, and I wanted to see them. So I think this also influenced me.

Jeannette Rankin was a real symbol to the young women in Montana. We were all very proud of her for voting against the war. She was the one person who did. I think this made us feel very independent, in a way, of maybe the rest of the world.

Mining Companies, Taxes, and Louis Levine

C. Grether: Now, another interesting thing in Montana was the hold that the mining companies had on the politics, and this created some feeling, I think. But basically it was kind of standard politics that we discussed--my father was a strong Republican--and Republicans versus Democrats. I became a Democrat. When Woodrow Wilson came along, I thought, "Well, this is good."

Also, I began to believe in labor unions, and this created a great deal of discussion in our home because my father didn't believe in labor unions. There were very difficult strikes, lots

of violence in the early strikes--the early labor movement--and this was a prejudicial factor, I think, with many people, the violence involved. But I became interested in it. My stepmother said to me one time, "Please don't talk about it any more, Carrie. Your father can't sleep at night." [laughter]

Nathan: Did you have any feeling about the large industries--say, Anaconda Copper Company and others that were mining in Montana?

C. Grether: During college I learned more about that. In fact, one of the professors who was influential in turning me to economics--his name then was Louis Levine; he changed it later to Louis Lorwen. He wrote a monograph about taxation problems in Montana, especially the tax share that the Anaconda Company paid, and it developed that they paid a very small proportion of taxation.

The chancellor, who was in Helena (the university had a president, and then the chancellor was over all, for all the state organization), ordered the president to fire Louis Levine for having written this monograph, because he was told not to write it. Levine said, "No. I did it on my own time, I paid for all of it myself and I have a right to have done so, and I will not be fired."

This became a great political fight and a great court fight, and it gave publicity all over the nation to this problem. From that, Louis Levine was immediately sought after, so we lost him at the University of Montana to, I believe, either Columbia or Brookings; he went to both places, and I don't remember which was first.

This opened our eyes to a good deal of what had been going on and what the problems were there. But, on the other hand, the companies did bring a lot of jobs to Montana, so there was much loyalty to the mining company because of this. It had two sides to it, but the political side was the one, I think, that created the dissension.

Nathan: Was there any problem about the supply of water or timbers to the mines?

C. Grether: Not that I knew of, because the mines were in Butte and we were quite some distance from them.

XXXI CALIFORNIA STYLE AND UC BERKELEY//

Nathan: When you came out to California, did you still feel yourself a Montana person?

C. Grether: Oh, indeed, I did. An amusing thing happened. I went to Santa Barbara with my roommate for the Christmas holidays, and while there we went to the polo games. There I met a woman who was a friend of hers, a woman who was obviously very wealthy. She had just come from the Caribbean, and she wintered here and there. She turned to me and said, "And where are you from?"

I should say that I had been warned by my stepmother that I would find that people in California are snobbish because I was from Montana, and not to let it hurt my feelings. So when this woman asked me where I came from, I said, "I come from Montana." Her nose went up in the air, and she said "Ohhh, how interesting." I said, "Yes, it is interesting. You know, Montana is perhaps the last frontier state. In Montana they have the big ranches." "Does your father have one of those big ranches?" she asked. "Oh, yes," I said, "he does." "Ohhh," she said. Pretty soon she was apologizing for not being dressed better. [laughter]

You see, I'd been forewarned about that. But, as you say, it was kind of a symptom of the times that people thought of Montana as being far, far away from civilization. She had asked me where I went to school. Well, I explained to her that we had schools in Montana, and she was a little dubious about it. [chuckles]

Nathan: I hope Californians have gotten over this by now.

C. Grether: Well, I'm sure they have because, you see, since then there's been this big population explosion in California, and people have

come from many places, including Montana, so that there's less of this sense of being the choice people of the earth.

Nathan: I think you're right.

An Econ Fellowship, Greth, and Ira Cross

Nathan: Well, let's see. We did get you to Berkeley, and there you became interested in the only man who didn't shower you with attention, which is probably normal.

C. Grether: Probably. I can't say that they all showered me with attention, but they were all very talkative around the tables where we all met. Let's see--which place was it?

Nathan: Would you have been in Wheeler then?

C. Grether: I guess we were in Wheeler then. I was thinking of the other place. No, first we were in Wheeler Hall. They'd sit around and talk and so on. He never did, but I realized later that he was working part-time, doing other interesting things. He got through his Ph.D. in two years, which everybody else, of course, couldn't understand; but I could understand it when I saw how he really worked at it. Not until he was through that did he take time off for me. [laughter] See, I had stayed out a year and then came back a second year, and by the second year he had more time then. That's when we became more interested in each other.

I loved Dr. Cross and I loved the whole set-up here. I just used to walk around through Berkeley and wonder, "What can I do so that I can stay here all my life?"--long before I ever dreamed I would be married to Greth.

Nathan: Where did you live at that time?

C. Grether: I lived in a house called Theta Center. I was a Kappa Alpha Theta, and the actives had a full house, but there were quite a few girls who came here from other places who also belonged to that national. So the alumnae started this separate boarding house, and any girl who was a Theta could have a home there. They also took other girls, so there was a nice place there. We had a very nice housemother by the name of Mrs. Mac Millan; we always called her Mrs. Mac. That's where my home was while I was in Berkeley.

Nathan: Did Ira Cross give you leadership?

C. Grether: Yes, definitely. He was very good. We met every Saturday, and he taught us, really, how to teach: what to do; if we ran into difficulties, how to handle them; and he emphasized always that we must be well prepared. His statement was, "If your students can't understand what's going on, it's not their fault; it's your fault. You must know this well enough that you can explain it to the slowest student and have him or her know what you're talking about." This was good, you know. It just puts you right on your mettle, never to come in there without knowing what was going on. So he explained everything during these meetings, and if we had any questions he made us answer them, and made sure that we understood the answers before we were to leave.

Nathan: So you led sections, did you? He gave the lectures?

C. Grether: I led sections. Yes, he gave the lectures, and then we had two sections I think, a week, broken down into about twenty to twenty-five students. Our responsibility was to teach the details of the course to the students, to read the test papers, and to quiz them and have the discussions during the class.

One amusing thing happened. The first year I was here, I was late. We were supposed to come to a certain spot to get the cards for our sections. All of the registration cards were piled up, and you were to come and select the right number of cards for your sections. Well, I was always inclined to be just about the last minute you could get there, and so I didn't go early. I just waited until almost the last minute. I got up there, and here all the cards were stacked up. The teaching assistants had come to sort out the ones they wanted. At the same time that I came, another teaching assistant came. His name was Tom Nielander. He was a little older than the rest of us. We saw this stack of cards, and there was not one name in it that wasn't an unpronounceable foreign name.

I was dismayed, because I didn't know how to pronounce these names, and Tom said, "Now, don't worry. Just stop a minute and think. Who is the brightest teaching fellow here? Grether. He would be the one who'd come in and pick out the choice students. Now, let's just get his cards and see what we can do about that." So Tom brought over Greth's cards; all of them. He took half and I took half, and gave him [Grether] all these crazy names.
[laughter]

Well, we expected some kind of a blowup. Nothing was said about it at all until quite a bit later. I think Greth said he had eighteen different nationalities, and it was the most interesting class he had ever had. But I always felt kind of dizzy about that. But we did it.

Faculty and Classmates

Nathan: Were there any other people on the faculty who impressed you?

C. Grether: Oh, Jessica Peixotto. She was just a wonderful person. I took her courses.

Nathan: Was that sort of the forerunner of social welfare?

C. Grether: Yes. Social economics, she called it.

Then there was Carl Plehn. He was not a very exciting teacher, but I enjoyed him, and I loved Mrs. Plehn. In fact, I loved everybody who was here. I took courses outside the Department of Economics also. Olga Bridgman was a professor of psychology, and I was interested in psychology. I took her course in advanced psychology; I forget just which one it was. Then, also, my history professor in Montana had a good friend here by the name of Franklin Palm, in history.

Nathan: Oh, yes. I remember him.

C. Grether: So I took his course, a seminar course that he had. First, he asked me if I could read French. No, I couldn't read French. Well, he said he had a rule that only people who could read French could get an A in his course, and I would have to take a B if I took that course. "Well," I said, "I don't mind. That's all right." So I took his course and did research on the influence of the French Revolution in the revolutionary period in the United States. That was a very interesting assignment, and I enjoyed that.

I was also challenged because two people had come to summer school in the University of California and came back and reported that it was so hard at the University of California that the only way you could get a good grade was to cheat. That angered me, so I was determined I would have a good record without cheating, and I did. [laughter]

Nathan: Good for you. Were there other young students whom you remember particularly?

C. Grether: I had a dear roommate by the name of Susie Moffatt; she was the one whom I went to visit in Santa Barbara. I loved her so much that we named our second daughter after her. I still correspond with her.

There were many friends that I made who have been lifelong friends, who lived in Berkeley, yes.

Nathan: At this period you were thinking of working toward a Ph.D.?

C. Grether: Yes, I was. I didn't get a Master's degree because I was sure I would get my Ph.D. Dr. Cross said, "Don't bother with stopping to write a Master's thesis if you're going on." I said, "Oh, I'm going on to get my Ph.D." So, although I had two full years of graduate study here in economics, I never did get a degree, but I haven't needed it.

Nathan: So you found then, when Greth had time, that you got better acquainted.

C. Grether: And gradually arrived at the decision that we would get married.

Nathan: Well, this was quite a big decision, wasn't it?

C. Grether: It was, indeed; it was, indeed. I had kind of a hard time coming to that decision too, but I did, fortunately.

Nathan: Yes.

Red Cross Job in Rural Areas

C. Grether: I went back to the University of Montana to teach for a year because I needed the money, among other things. Then, after I'd had my second year here, I needed a job again before going on, and I got a job with the national Red Cross. They were looking for people to go into rural areas to follow up on the work they were trying to do. During the war there had been a great deal of money collected for the national Red Cross, and it was not all spent for the purposes that they had collected it for, and much of it was just sitting in various communities. They were having

trouble, I guess, getting the message to people about what they should do with that money, and they were looking for people to go into the rural areas and work this problem through.

What they really needed were sociologists. I suppose they didn't have enough of those, so with my graduate study in economics I got a job with them. The headquarters were in St. Louis, and I was rural--what was my title? Anyway, I worked in the rural areas of Missouri, going from little town to little town, helping the people to understand that this money was there for them to use for their own purposes, but it should be used for the benefit of the community. There was a great public health emphasis from the Red Cross at that time, and also lifesaving emphasis on how to administer first aid and this sort of thing.

I went from little town to little town, made speeches in churches or with individuals, and went to the banks. Wherever anybody was a chairman of anything, I would interview those people and get them to working to spend this money for the community.

Greth, His Family, and Marriage

C. Grether: I was there doing this while Greth went to the University of Nebraska for his first year there. My headquarters were in Kansas City, and I would go out to make my calls through the state, and then I would go back to Kansas City, write my reports, and then I'd get into St. Louis once in a while, too. Well, he came to Kansas City when I was there, to persuade me to marry him then.

I had stopped on the way down there to visit his family, and I just fell in love with them. It was a wonderful family. His father was a minister. I had known one sister out here, but not really until I met his whole family together was I sure I wanted to marry him, even though I knew that I loved him. But that changed the perspective a good deal.

Then I went on to do this job, and he came to Kansas City. He spent one evening talking to me, and just about talked me into getting married the next day. Then he went off, and I wasn't sure. I always had a habit at that time of getting out a pack of cards and playing solitaire when I was thinking through something. It was in October and it was kind of chilly, and the

only warm place was the bathroom, so I sat down on the bathroom floor and played solitaire a good share of the night and decided no, I wouldn't get married after all the next day.

In the morning, just to be sure that I wouldn't change my mind, I put on an old suit that I had there and went down. We had a date to have breakfast together. Do you know something? I forgot all about it when I saw him. He said, "Well, let's go now and get our license." I just forgot completely that I had decided not to get married [laughter], and we went off, and he found a Presbyterian minister, and we were married that morning.

Nathan: Oh, that's wonderful.

C. Grether: He had brought a wedding ring along, just on the hope, and I didn't like it, and I said, "I don't want that wedding ring." The Presbyterian minister was upset about this. He said, "It's very unusual to be married without a wedding ring," and I said, "Well, I just don't happen to like it." [chuckles] So, you see, I was kind of an independent female.

Nathan: But you knew when not to be too independent, too.

C. Grether: So that was it. Then he became sick, and so I left my job. We originally had planned that I would go ahead and work the rest of that year, but he became sick, so I quit my job and went up to take care of him, really. He had to have an operation. He had worked awfully hard, and I think he pushed himself perhaps too hard getting his degree. Anyway, whatever the reason, there we were in Nebraska, and that was where we began our life together.

Nathan: You must have learned a good deal traveling around, thinking of the job, going into these small towns.

C. Grether: I learned how to take abuse and smile, because many of these people were resentful at having anybody come in there to tell them what to do.

Nathan: That's interesting.

C. Grether: Yes. One woman particularly, I remember, oh, was very abusive to me, and I just smiled and went on with my little talk, you know, whatever. Then I'd go to the other people on the committee and other people in the community. We were expected to sell this program, and we managed to do it. It took a good deal of patience, and you learned a lot about human beings that way and

all, and about the need for diplomacy and so on. But it was very exciting.

I learned a lot about communities, too. For instance, in one community where I went, the idea of dental hygiene was that once a year everybody over twenty-five would go to the traveling dentist who came, whatever time of year he got there, and have all their teeth pulled in order to have dentures. This was the way they avoided toothache. Well, of course the first thing I did was to work on dental hygiene. The Red Cross insisted on having a public health nurse in the communities, so the public health nurse in that community concentrated on dental hygiene. She was distressed a good deal because she, too, I guess, probably had to take some kind of abuse from the local people who wanted to keep the money in the bank; it was their money.

Faculty Life

C. Grether: Then Greth was invited to come back to the University of California, and we were delighted with that. So after that first year in Nebraska, which we really enjoyed very much--the people there were delightful, and we had a lot of friends there; he had graduated from the University of Nebraska, so he knew people there--we came back to the University of California and have lived here ever since, except for an occasional year away or a short time away.

Nathan: Can you describe, as a new young faculty wife, what some of your duties were?

C. Grether: As a young faculty wife, I hadn't any duties in the beginning at all, but people were very cordial. The faculty wives at that time would call on the new people, and they made sure that we'd get to the faculty teas, and we were invited out to dinner in the various homes. Of course, it was a help to be acquainted with people here when he came. At that time we were asked to serve at the teas from time to time; especially new young wives would be. It was a very pleasant and nonvigorous way to live, really.

Nathan: Did you have the feeling that you knew most of the faculty?

C. Grether: I knew most of the economics faculty at that time, and they were all very friendly. Emily Noble was here, and Felix Flugel was a good friend of Greth's and mine, and Jessica was still here. We

had a very, very friendly group of people. The Hatfields were among them.

Philosophy of Hospitality

Nathan: I wondered how close or well acquainted you were with the students. Did you have much contact with them?

C. Grether: We always tried to have contact with the students. We had Greth's classes in our home a great deal.

Nathan: Did you feed them or give them refreshments?

C. Grether: Sometimes we'd feed them; they had one class that came in after class and would just stand around and enjoy coming over. We'd have a little refreshment of some kind. Yes, we always made quite a point of having the students in. As time went on--the last meeting of his seminar classes, for instance--we'd have them here, with a supper.

Nathan: Were you always in this house on San Diego Road?

C. Grether: No, we were not. At first we lived over on the other side of the campus in a little house. Then we moved. We lived in a house of a couple who were gone on a sabbatical for just one year, so we moved over to the North side, down near Live Oak Park, and lived there for several years. Then in 1931 we bought this house, and have lived here ever since then.

Nathan: This house must lend itself very well to gatherings of all different kinds.

C. Grether: It does. It's very good. We have a big basement underneath the living room, the same size as this living room, and we could open it up and have, if we had a big crowd, both top and bottom. We did that many, many times. For Greth's seminar we'd have students in here and set up small tables around, and that was always something we looked forward to, too.

Yesterday we were down at the Sea Wolf for luncheon, and as we sat there a man came over to Greth and clapped him on the shoulder and said, "Dean Grether, you won't remember me, but I was in your seminar." He went on to say that he had come to our home, and thanked Greth for what he had taught him because, he

said, "You put me where I am today." Now, this is one of the nice things about having the students come and feel so close to Greth. As Greth said this morning, "That's one of the rewards."

Nathan: Absolutely. One is afraid that there's less of that now?

C. Grether: I don't know. The classes are bigger now. I suppose that has something to do with it. We have always done that, and when Greth was dean we always had faculty in also, because he felt it was very important for team spirit to exist. In order for that warmth to exist, it also was important for people to sit around the table together and talk over the food, and I think it was, too. So we made a great effort to have people feel acquainted with each other. We did it very informally.

When we had smaller dinners, we usually had student help. If we had somebody living here, that student would help, or sometimes I'd call and have a student come to help. We'd sit around the table, then, and talk. Once or twice a year we'd have everybody in. The department was not as big then, and we could do that.

I never had cateresses. When people got here, everybody had a job. I'd have somebody carving the turkey, if there was a cold turkey, or somebody tending the punch bowl, and somebody would be greeting people at the door, and we'd just try to make it a big team experience. I think it worked to make everybody feel at home with each other, and it also stimulated, I think, a social life among the whole group, because there were exchanges of dinners and this sort of thing going on quite a lot. So that was fun.

Nathan: Well, somewhere along the line you obviously learned to cook [laughter], and to cook for a lot of people.

C. Grether: I learned to cook out on the ranch. You see, when we didn't have cooks, why, we did the cooking.

Nathan: For all those ranch hands?

C. Grether: Yes. We had sometimes, well, maybe up to fifteen or twenty during harvest time. We always hoped to have a cook, but we couldn't always get one, so we just learned; we grew up knowing how to cook. When I was twelve years old or so, I remember, I had to get up and take my turn at getting breakfast. That meant getting up at five o'clock and getting breakfast for the hay hands.

The first time I made hot cakes, I went behind the door in the pantry and started to cry. Somebody said, "Why are you crying?" I said, "Because the hot cakes aren't good." There were two college boys from Illinois there that summer working on the ranch, and one of them said, "Oh, they are delicious. Cook me some more hot cakes." So I did, and he ate four more, but I heard later that he was sick that morning [laughter] and couldn't do his job. So I think I was right.

Nathan: Yes, it seems so.

It's interesting that in Berkeley you consciously set up a certain quality of feeling in the department.

C. Grether: Well, this was important. We'd plan it. Greth was the one who decided which people would be invited together, and he had given me a list of the people. He came home one day and said, "Oh, you can't invite those two people." I said, "Why not?" He said "They've had a row." "Well," I said, "it's too late. I've invited them, and they've all accepted." [laughter] Well, do you know that the dinner party resolved it, after they all sat around here? While they didn't talk about their problem, the feeling was good, and somehow or other it worked out the problem. So, you see, it can happen.

Also, I just decided, "The fact that we're having our fifteen or twenty people in for supper on Saturday night doesn't mean that I shouldn't have fun, too," so I would go to the football games or do whatever I wanted to on Saturday afternoons. I learned to organize what I was doing, and it would come off just as well as if I'd been here all afternoon. So I did it an easy way, but it worked.

Nathan: And without resentment, which is very important.

C. Grether: Oh, I loved it; I loved it. Really, I did. It was fun because I enjoy people, and I enjoyed having them in. I'd learned early on that work is important, that you have it whatever you do. You have things that are drudgery, no matter how exciting your job is, and you just have to do that. My father used to say, "If there's something you don't like to do, fly at it and do it," and I think that's a good philosophy. [chuckles]

Nathan: Fly at it. I like that very much.

C. Grether: So I would fly at it and get things ready for the dinner party, whatever they were, and that would be the way it would be.

Teaching Economics and Reading the Literature

Nathan: During this period were you reading the professional literature at all?

C. Grether: Well, yes. I have, more or less, always. Soon after we moved into this house--I guess it began before we moved here--the Cora Williams Junior College, which is out here on Arlington, wanted somebody to teach economics. They went to the University, and they recommended me. So I taught beginning economics at the Cora Williams Junior College for three or four years, and that started me again reading the literature. I had to, to be prepared for those classes, and I've always enjoyed reading the literature. Greth, of course, has done writing, and he has talked over what he's doing with me, and I'd read what he's doing. So I've kept in touch, more or less, with the field.

Nathan: Did you ever feel that you should help with the research or the typing end of it?

C. Grether: I've done a great deal of typing for him. I've never tried to do any of his research because that is really kind of a full-time job.

Nathan: Yes.

C. Grether: We had our first baby the first year after we were married, and our second baby was born fourteen months later. So I was busy with the children. Greth would get a market research job once in a while which I could do, too.

England and Germany (1933)###

Nathan: So you did some teaching from time to time, I gather.

C. Grether: Yes, just that one series of a few years.

Then Greth went abroad in 1933. Our children were too little, we felt, to take them with us, so I waited. He left in January; I think January 1 he sailed to go around the world. I left here in April and took our children to my family in Montana. Then I joined him in London. So after that I didn't go back to Williams Junior College to teach.

Nathan: That trip must have been rather marvelous.

C. Grether: It was a very fabulous trip in many ways. Greth was doing research in England, and I was doing reading, you know, going through the British Museum, and doing all the interesting things that one does as a tourist staying there.

Then we went to the continent. The London papers were full of the youth movement in Germany and a certain person called Hitler, and the stories that were in the Times were quite alarming. Well, we just could hardly believe the implications of these stories. So we had enough money--we had originally planned to have a grand tour of Europe.

Nathan: This was '32?

C. Grether: Thirty-three. It all sounded so interesting that we decided it would be more valuable to us to spend our whole time in Germany to find out what we could find out about this youth movement that we'd been reading about, rather than touring all of Europe to see the sights.

Greth's family background is German. The first place we went after getting through Holland--incidentally, when we were in Holland, in the railway station waiting for our change of trains, there was one of the men who had been a graduate student at Berkeley while we were. He wanted us to get off and go visit him, and we didn't have time to get our luggage off the train or we'd have stopped in Holland.

But then we went on into West Germany, where Greth's mother's family came from--Libby Detmolt is the name--and stayed there and visited around. Greth could speak German, which I could not. Then we went on to--I don't remember the sequence of places, but we visited little towns and big places like Berlin, and just moved around in Germany, always talking to the people about what was happening.

Nathan: Were they willing to talk to you?

C. Grether: They were not necessarily willing to talk. They wanted to talk, but they were afraid to talk and would talk away from other people so they couldn't be heard. Greth laughed. He said they'd get so excited in the middle of the street that anybody could have heard them a block away. There was much disturbed feeling in Germany about what was happening.

We knew that the Germans were not supposed to be armed after the war [World War I], and yet we could see these people marching with guns, and they were all young.

When we were in Heidelberg, Hitler had caused a psychology professor to be discharged from his professorship because he had spoken of Hitler as being a psychopath. Hitler spoke in the big outdoor stadium in Heidelberg when we were there, and we thought so little of him and thought it was so unimportant that we didn't go to hear him. But we were alarmed by the marching and the singing.

Nathan: Were they in uniform?

C. Grether: They would be in uniform often, or not, but the young men would be out at five o'clock in the morning doing their drills and singing their songs. That woke us up every morning while we were in Heidelberg, and in other places, too.

Nathan: Heidelberg is a university town?

C. Grether: It was a university town, yes.

Then we went down to the part of Germany which is the Black Forest, right down bordering on Switzerland and France. That's where his father's people came from. That was a very interesting place, by the way. The old Roman ruins are still there, and many of the family are still there. They were dissidents, and they had sent their son--an eighteen-year-old, I think he was--into France for fear he would be arrested, because he had somehow or other jeered at these marching troops and created a good deal of disfavor.

Then, after we came back from Germany, some months, we got a letter. Also, I should say that this family took newspapers from Switzerland, and they were able to read what was happening in Germany. All the German newspapers were censored, and the real truth of the matter did not come out through the publications. But this Grether family that lived in the same home that Greth's ancestors had lived in took the papers from Switzerland, and they

were very upset at what was happening. Then, after we were home a number of months, we had a letter from the woman there, who spoke of her brother-in-law, who, when we saw him, was a fine upstanding man about fifty years old, I guess, a very handsome person, a big man. He had been arrested and had been taken away for a month. She said when he left he was a big, strong man; when he came back he was a broken-down, old man, they had tortured him so much.

So you can understand that, when we got back here and Greth tried to warn the people that this was a dangerous situation, they didn't want to hear him, didn't want to think it.

Nathan: Isn't that interesting.

C. Grether: Yes. He was asked to make a speech or two, but after people heard what he had to say, that ended it. They didn't want to hear what he had to say, because he said then, "This is serious and it'll be at least ten years before it's settled."

Then we came back home, got our children in Montana, and came back here and went on with life normally. I was just as much in love with the University of California as Greth was, and just as excited as he was about what he was doing as a professor here and as dean and so on. So I always felt a part of it.

Nathan: Yes.

I was also thinking of your being in England and other places, in view of your interest in art. This must have been really quite wonderful.

C. Grether: Yes, going to the galleries and seeing whatever there was there. It was very exciting. Going to Paris, of course, and the Louvre. Where we'd go in Europe, of course, has wonderful art, and we both were interested in that. My mother was quite a good painter, so I had grown up with paintings and had some understanding of what it was all about.

Professional Opportunities

Nathan: When we talked a little bit earlier, I wondered whether, as someone who had had a good deal of training in economics, there

were other professional opportunities so that you may have had to make this family decision more than once.

C. Grether: When we were looking for a house I think I visited every house in Berkeley that was for sale, in all parts of Berkeley, and I thought it would be wonderful to be in real estate. It was a really exciting thing. Then I inquired somewhat about that, and getting the training was no problem, but I found out that it really meant that you had to work on Saturdays and Sundays. That took care of that for me, because it meant I'd be away from home weekends, and weekends were the one time that we saved for our family selves, and I didn't want to do that. So that's one thing I gave up that I would love to have done.

Another thing was that I became interested in local politics and did quite a lot of precinct work and organizational work on the local level.

Nathan: Were there any candidates you were especially interested in that you remember?

C. Grether: I don't remember their names, but I was a good Democrat, so I was working with the Democratic Party. I helped with the nominating of the candidate for the governorship and the local people and so on.

Well, then, at one point I was offered the chairmanship of the Democratic Women of Alameda County, and that would have been a fabulous thing to do. I was very tempted by that. But our two little girls then, you know, were at such an exciting stage in their lives, and I was so interested in them. I knew that would mean I'd be away from them a great deal. I just decided I'd rather be home with my family than to do this other kind of job, so I declined and stuck with the politics at a local level for a while, which didn't interfere with my daily plans or life.

Aside from that, I'd have to say no, I haven't been particularly tempted by any other opportunities, because I just decided this was what I wanted to do. I notice in the modern lingo of the feminists that they use the word "choice" a great deal. My choice was to be here with my family and to do what I needed to do. I thought, "This is my job. If I don't do it, nobody will," and that's what I did. That was my choice.

Career at Home

C. Grether: I have said, "I had a career at home," which I did. When our children were little, I studied child psychology. I took advantage of the intellectual side of the responsibility as well as the day-to-day caring for them. I learned all I could about nutrition so they would have the right food, and just worked at it. I worked at it as a real assignment, and I loved it. We had a good time.

Nathan: Did you take part in extracurricular activities for the children--children's groups?

C. Grether: When our children were little there were thirty-two little children about that same age in this neighborhood, and a good share of the time they were all here.

Nathan: I believe it.

C. Grether: I used to have a little crowd of children sitting on that living room floor, and I'd be reading to them. We had one bedroom that wasn't furnished yet upstairs, and we turned that over to them for a playroom. They made their own dramatics, and they had their own plays. Downstairs there was at that time a shelf where there wasn't any cupboard, and they used that for a stage also. I had a wonderful time with those kids. We'd go over to the park, on the playground over there.

Nathan: Which park would this be? That would be too far for Live Oak.

C. Grether: This is John Hinkel Park, and there are slide equipment and swings and that sort of thing over there.

One neighbor said one time, "I don't understand Mrs. Grether, but I guess someday she'll learn."

Nathan: She thought you were being imposed on?

C. Grether: Yes, she thought so, but I loved it, and I was so amused by these children. You know, children are very exciting people.

Then later on, when the girls were older--and our son is eleven years younger than the younger girl--I had the Cub Scouts for him. As long as he was eligible for the Cub Scouts, I had the Cub Scouts, all little boys.

Nathan: It's interesting, isn't it, how children always know where they're welcome.

C. Grether: I think they do. An example of that--next door, a family moved in with three little children. When the oldest boy was maybe six or so, we had a big cocktail party here, and we invited the parents because he was in the University Information Service. We thought he would know some of the people and would be interested in meeting some of the other people.

I stepped out to the kitchen, and here was this little boy. He had climbed the tree out there and had his head hanging down, looking through the window to see the party. Of course, I thought he was amusing, and I mentioned it to his mother and she looked. She afterwards told him that he shouldn't have done that, and he said, "Well, why? It was all right. She likes me." So, you see, they do; they know.

Nathan: They do. That's very nice.

C. Grether: Yes, I thought that was nice.

Entertaining Foreign Visitors

Nathan: I gather, too, that you had your share of foreign visitors.

C. Grether: Oh, yes, we did. We always invited the foreign visitors, whether they were professors or students or whether they were doing post-graduate study. If they were related to what Greth was doing or he knew of them or something, we would invite them.

When we were first married, bridge was a very favorite form of activity, and the first dinner party we had, we sat down and had bridge. I don't remember who was here, but some very interesting people, and when they went home Greth said, "Let's put the table away and forget we know how to play bridge. You know that we didn't have one word of conversation with those interesting people?" And that was the last time we've had a bridge table out.

So from that time on, whenever we got groups together, we had conversation. I might say that often when we'd have big groups with faculty here, it wasn't just a social event. After the dinner was cleared up, we'd all sit around in the living room

and Greth would lead a discussion about something of interest to the whole group, and the women were included in the group. We didn't segregate the women out here to talk recipes; they were there, too. This happened over and over and over again. If somebody was coming from other places that were interesting, he or she, as the case might be, would be the focus. We'd get him to talk about what he was interested in and about his country and so on.

Nathan: What a wonderful opportunity.

C. Grether: This happened over and over again, and it was a great opportunity. We've had some very interesting people sitting around our fireside, talking about their views and where they thought they were going and where they had been, and the whole bit.

Nathan: I would imagine, too, that people from other cultures must have found it interesting to see the way you ran your parties, without a staff, without a caterer, with everybody helping, with everybody clearing.

C. Grether: Yes. I think it was quite strange to some people.

Nathan: But interesting.

C. Grether: Well, let me tell you one example. After World War II, we were having a dinner party. It was in the summertime. We were having a dinner party for some faculty, a small dinner party. There would be ten, maybe, because this table opens up.

Greth called up and said, "Carrie, there's a poor little Japanese professor here. He's been traveling all over the United States, and he's tired and he's been snubbed, and he just feels sick and miserable. I'd like to bring him home." Well, I said, "Fine. Bring him along. We're having a dinner party. Just bring him home." So he did.

I was worried, you know, because we were having rice, among other things, and I thought, "I don't know how to cook rice the Japanese way." [laughter] But it was too late in the day to change, so I just served the rice as I cooked it. He sat right here [gestures], the man. David was our helper then. David was about fourteen years old, and he was waiting on table. He was also sitting at the table, but he would get up and do the service.

Well, during the meal, as David was clearing the table, this Japanese man got up and helped to clear the table. He came out to the kitchen and asked me where to put the garbage, and I showed him. So he helped the whole meal. Both during the meal and afterwards he'd clear the table, and then came back and was a guest.

When David brought the rice to him--David was serving the rice--he said, "Ohhh, rice! My native food!" [laughter]

The follow-up of that is an interesting story. I told somebody about this, somebody who had been in Japan, and she said "A Japanese man doing that? Why, it's unheard of. No Japanese man would help in the kitchen. That is just against their standard."

But quite a number of years later we were invited to a big reception given in the Japanese consulate in San Francisco for the president of Tokyo University. Greth was dean then, and he was awfully busy and would get a good many invitations that he couldn't accept. This one, he said, "I don't see how we can go. I don't think we'd better accept." But he said, "Don't do anything about it. Maybe we can go." So we didn't even reply to this.

The afternoon came, and he came home and said, "I think it would be kind of fun to go to that Japanese reception. Let's do that." So we went over there, and when we entered the door and gave our name, the man there said, "Oh, Mr. and Mrs. Grether, you are very special guests today." We just assumed this was what they said to all of the people coming in, because the Japanese are so polite.

We went into the big reception room, and the first person said, "Oh, you are very special guests today." We thought, again, politeness. We went down the line. And who do you suppose was the president of Tokyo University? This Japanese professor who had sat here at our table. Instead of emaciated, he was fattened out, and he looked comfortable and was well dressed and so on.

He left the line and tagged us all over the room. "Do you still have the oak tree?" he asked. "Yes." "What is David doing now?" He asked us the details about our home. He asked, "Do you still have this? Is it still like that?" and so on.

Nathan: The image was still fresh in his mind.

C. Grether: He just appreciated coming here and being in our home and seeing how we did things.

Nathan: Oh, that's marvelous.

C. Grether: Wasn't that a nice thing? That was one of our nicest experiences, I think.

Nathan: Aren't you glad you went?

C. Grether: Yes. Suppose we hadn't gone?

We've had many Japanese and many people from Europe and other parts of the world--Indonesians, you name it--if they're here. We had people from Turkey not very long ago, last year. And Germany. It's a very enriching experience to ask these people to come to your home, and sit around and talk with them and be informal with them. They like it, too, I think. I know we like it, when we go abroad, to be invited into people's homes. It's a very different thing from being down in the sidewalk cafe someplace.

Nathan: Exactly.

C. Grether: So that's what we do.

Sharing Family Responsibilities

Nathan: I wondered about one other thing, just briefly. You were talking about standing on the stool, slicing potatoes for breakfast, when you were a very little person.

C. Grether: Yes.

Nathan: How did you manage to carry that lesson and apply it to your children? Did you try to do that?

C. Grether: Oh, yes, indeed. I felt that as members of the family they also should share in the family responsibility. I would teach them to pick up their clothes and do all the things that you'd normally teach them to do. I always had help of some kind, especially when Greth was so busy and I was busy, too. When the girls were young teenagers I discovered that it was very difficult to get

them to tidy up their rooms, to make their beds, and so on. I thought, "Well, they're bright kids, and they know there are two grown women around this place and they don't really need to."

So I terminated the other woman, and that just left me here to do the work, plus the children. Then they had to take over part of the work. They had to learn to do the vacuuming; they had to learn to dust; they had to learn to keep their rooms and make their beds. Otherwise we couldn't get it all done because I was also doing things outside the home, and that way they learned. They're both much better housekeepers than I am. [laughter] They really learned. I felt it was very important to do that. It was more work for me, and I didn't like the kind of work it was, but just the same, we worked together and learned together.

Then Dave came along. Of course, the girls were gone by the time he was that age, and Greth, by that time, was away a good deal of the time. So here was David, and I was wondering. I didn't want him to develop habits of hanging around after school with the kids downtown and so on. So you would be surprised how often we painted walls and things like that, and I'd have to have him help me because he was taller than I and could reach the ceilings and that corner up there [indicates corner of room]. That was his special corner. I could never reach that corner.

He learned, too, and he's a good husband. He would have been a good husband anyway, but he does a lot of little things around that I, without my realizing it, taught him. But I did it for the same reasons. I think it's important for a family to live together, to work together, to play together--whatever. It's a unit operation.

Public Schools

Nathan: Did your children go to the public schools in Berkeley?

C. Grether: Yes, they did. Wherever we went, they went to public schools. When we were in Philadelphia for a year and the girls were in the seventh and eighth grades, I think, all the people we knew there sent their children to private school. But we believed in public school and lived near a good public school, so we sent our children to public school. The neighbors around there were quite surprised and made comments about the fact that they played with

all the children up and down the block and went to the public school.

When we went to Washington, D.C., David was ten years old, and he went to public school. We just think it's the place for children to go, rather than to be segregated off by themselves with a special group. They've all learned to live with all kinds of people, and it's made a big difference in their lives to be able to do that.

Virginia, the girl who married a young lawyer and moved up to Sacramento, for years has worked with minority groups up there, especially the Chicanos, helping the children to get along well in school. She has worked in a settlement house, helping to make food for the down-and-out men that are around there, and helping to try to find a way for them to get some kind of decent housing and so on.

David went through Berkeley High, and he just got along fine with all those kids down there, you know. Susie married a career man in the air force, which meant, of course, that she rubbed elbows with many people around the world. So I think that going to public school was a very good background for not only our children, but for all children. I believe in it. But I believe the public schools ought to do a better job than they're doing right now in some of the basics. I think it's a disgrace that they turn people out who can't read.

Nathan: Yes, isn't it.

C. Grether: It's changed, because they used to teach them. I don't know why they don't any more.

Nathan: Well, one imagines maybe the pendulum will swing back and the emphasis will have to change.

C. Grether: It probably will. It probably will.

Nathan: While you were running a very hospitable home and taking childrearing seriously, I gather you also got into volunteerism in a serious way.

C. Grether: Yes, I did, and I think that is also important for a woman who is making her career at home. If she's interested in public affairs, she should become involved in public affairs. The way I did that was through politics, as I mentioned, and also through the University wives' organization and through the University

YWCA. I liked that particularly because I was in touch with student life there on a basis which involved them in doing volunteer work and study work. I was on the Family and Children's Board. I was on the Budget Committee when it was a local budget committee for the Community Chest. I did things of that sort. I did quite a lot of things of that sort.

The Dean's Wife

[Interview 2: February 1, 1980]##

Nathan: Perhaps, if you would like to, we can talk a little bit more about the Berkeley life, the campus life. Of course, in addition to being a faculty wife, were a dean's wife, weren't you, for a good many years.

C. Grether: Yes, twenty years.

Nathan: For twenty years. That's extraordinary.

C. Grether: And an acting dean's wife for a couple of more years.

Nathan: Did you find that your husband's being a dean perhaps affected the kinds of exchanges you had with other faculty women particularly?

C. Grether: Once in a while. Mostly it was just a normal happy exchange, but there were a few women who liked, apparently, to be involved in campus politics, and sometimes they would try to find out from me things they thought I might have found out from Greth. But, for one thing, I did not involve myself at all in the business of the campus, just in the social aspect of cooperating with Greth. People didn't always realize that, so they would try to find out from me things that they thought I might know, in order to, I suppose, have knowledge about it. But I never divulged anything if I did know it.

In fact, our next door neighbors were the Griffith Evanses for many years. One day, in Isabel Evans's presence, a very inquisitive woman kept asking me questions and questions. Of course, I just didn't know anything. When she had gone, Isabel laughed and said, "Carrie, I never knew how stupid you were until today." [laughter]

- Nathan: Was this decision of yours not to know anything your own notion of how to behave?
- C. Grether: Yes, of course. Because, in the first place, I didn't think it was any of my business to interfere or to take any part at all in the professional aspect of the department; that belonged to the people there. In the second place, if I did know anything, it would be in confidence, which I certainly would not want to break. People didn't always understand that, and I know some of the people thought I was, in reality, very stupid because I couldn't tell them anything.
- Nathan: During the course of many, many problems that, of course, your husband worked through in his universitywide and other responsibilities, was it ever his custom to discuss or just talk aloud to you about things that were on his mind?
- C. Grether: Yes. Yes, he did. He talked to me a great deal about his problems and things because I was very much interested in them, and we were working together on the problems, so that I always felt as though I was in full confidence with him. But I also felt that I should never betray that, and I never did.

The Section Club and a Hierarchy

- Nathan: Did you have the impression that there was a sort of faculty wives' political structure on the campus?
- C. Grether: Well, I found, especially when I was the president of the Section Club, that it was kind of a hierarchy. One amusing story which I think you might like to hear was about the Section Club in the fairly early days. Ted [Theodosia] Stewart was the originator of the idea here, and she called a little group together (and I was one of that group) to talk about forming the Section Club, the purpose of it being to help the faculty wives to get acquainted with each other outside the departments, and it was to be a very democratic sort of thing.

Early on I was involved in being a member of the nominating committee for the Section Club officers for the next year. We met in a full professor's home, and the chairman of the nominating committee was a full professor's wife; so she, the chairman of the committee, said that all the officers should be full professors' wives. I said, "No, indeed. That is not the

intention of the Section Club at all. It's a democratic thing," and I promptly nominated for president the wife of an assistant professor. Well, she was a darling young woman, and she would have been a nice president. But no, indeed. This really got a great discussion going, and the chairman was adamant.

The wife of the full professor in whose home we were meeting was Mrs. Max Radin. I saw her over in the kitchen door, and she was motioning me like this [gestures]: come, come, out to the kitchen. So I went out to the kitchen, and she said, "Stay with it. I see what you're doing, and I'm with you. Don't give up."

So I went back, and we went round and round again about whether all the officers should or should not be wives of full professors. Well, I couldn't prevail entirely. It finally was settled by the committee that the president must indeed be the wife of a full professor, but the assistant professor's wife whom I had nominated then became the vice-president. I think probably to this day it's anybody else except the president; the president must be a full professor's wife. I think it still holds today, though we fought it out that day. [laughter]

Nathan: What an interesting problem you dealt with. And good for you, I must say.

C. Grether: Well, yes. It was interesting. But that shows you; you were asking about the hierarchy. There is a sense of hierarchy among some, not all, of the faculty wives. But when they take it seriously, why, they take it seriously.

Nathan: Have you been able to detect any change over the years in this sense of hierarchy?

C. Grether: I don't feel it at all now, of course, but then I became less active within the Section Club as time went on. I think there's a change, probably, but I don't know. I would suspect there are always a few people around who take this seriously. I must say that I don't think very many people would have taken the strong position that this other full professor's wife took, but she was very serious about it and she was a powerful lady [chuckles], so she won her point.

Nathan: Did you feel that the sense of hierarchy then, in addition to being based on full professorship, continued on through, let's say, administrative levels? Does a dean's wife rank before a professor's wife, and all the way up?

C. Grether: I don't think so, really.

Nathan: It's based on the professorship.

C. Grether: Yes. But I had another amusing experience when I was just a secretary of the Section Club. This was early on, too. It was the stated practice of the Section Club to have the officers receive at the fall tea so everybody would know who they were. One year the tea was scheduled, and I, being secretary, kept thinking I would hear when I was expected to be there. I heard nothing, so I checked finally, a couple of days before the tea, and none of the other officers had heard anything about it.

So I found out who was in charge of the tea and I called her. She had invited all the deans' wives and the vice-presidents' and everybody else to receive at this tea, and had completely ignored the officers. So I said to her that this was breaking the practice and that I thought it wasn't very democratic. She said, "Well, I will call the other officers. Do you think I should?" I said, "Yes, I do. But I will not be there, since I am the one who has called you, because I'm not calling for myself. I'm just calling because I think this is important." She said, "I will expect you, and you will be there," and I was. I must say, I admired her very much. She called every one of those other women to tell them that they were not to stand in line, and she called all of the officers.

Nathan: That is difficult.

C. Grether: A very difficult thing. But, you see, it did take a little while for this democratic idea to sift into the total picture, and I think it's worked very well.

Nathan: How do you feel the Section Club functioned? Did they do what you and Ted Stewart had envisioned?

C. Grether: Oh, very much, so, yes. I think it's been an excellent organization. People across the campus know each other--the women do--who would never have, and oftentimes the husbands are involved, too. There are sections--the drama section and the travel section and others--where the husbands are just as involved as the wives are; bridge, for one thing. So I think it's been a very useful device, and it's still going; people still belong to the sections and enjoy it very much.

athan: I wondered also whether you might have been involved in some of the other faculty wives' activities. I was thinking of the one that particularly helps foreign students.

. Grether: Yes, for a while I was involved with that, foreign student housing and foreign student aid.

Getting Acquainted

. Grether: Then, another thing. I'm going to the dinner Monday evening which is for the wives of the graduate students. The Dames Club, they call it.

athan: Oh, yes.

. Grether: For quite a number of years I was a sponsor of the Dames Club, along with other women on the faculty.

There are just a number of ways to be involved. I was secretary of the College Teas when they were separate, too, and that was quite an interesting organization, much more formal than the Section Club, and for that reason I think perhaps it just died out because people didn't feel the need of it anymore, and it was a little too formal. They have the College Teas now once a year instead of once a month. We used to have to wear long dresses when we stood in line, and it was a very proper function.

athan: Who came to the College Teas?

. Grether: Oh, all the young wives. The chairmen of the departments--this is one of the things I had to do as dean's wife in the earlier years--were expected to bring all the new people to the teas the first year. I used to have a luncheon beforehand and take all of them down to the teas and make sure they got acquainted. This was the only getting-acquainted device for quite some time, before the Section Club got started.

athan: So this getting-acquainted function was one that you really worked on, both in the department, simply as the chairman's wife, and even as the dean's wife.

. Grether: Right, right. When I was secretary, it was my job to call all the departments and get the names of the new people so they would get invitations, and that was really a big job. I said

afterwards that I thought it was too big a job for a volunteer, that it should have been done through one of the offices. I don't know whether they changed it or not, but it was really a very big job for a volunteer to do. But we did it.

Nathan: Did you have any particular association with the women faculty also, the women who were actually faculty members?

C. Grether: Not unless they were involved in one of these other organizations, and sometimes they were. But no, I didn't. I was invited to join the Women's Faculty Club, but actually I didn't have time to do anything there, and I couldn't see that it would be of any importance to either the Women's Faculty Club or to me to do this, so I never did. I suppose if I had, I might have seen the faculty women more, but I didn't.

Haas Clubhouse, and the Building Committee

Nathan: I wondered whether you had particularly noticed when the recreation area above the football field, the Haas Strawberry Recreation Area, was developed.

C. Grether: Oh, yes. I was on the building committee for the Haas Clubhouse.

Nathan: That must have been exciting.

C. Grether: It was, indeed. It was quite a thing. Kay Kerr was on it and I was on it, and I don't know whether there were any other women or not. But, you know, you get on a building committee with a bunch of men [chuckles] and you really have a job to get things organized the way you think it might need to be for purposes you have in mind that they don't have in mind.

Nathan: Yes. What sorts of things were you particularly interested in?

C. Grether: Well, of course, the swimming pool was one of the big things. Kay was very anxious to have a place where the children could go because she felt the faculty wives with their children would like to be there. Well, some of the men objected very much to having a little shallow end of the pool, because they wanted to dive in and swim across the way. [laughter]

Nathan: Wonderful.

C. Grether: I remember one day when Kay wasn't there and they were just about to vote that they'd eliminate the children's pool. I quietly spoke up, and I said, "But you remember, this is one of the things Mrs. Kerr really wants." So they had a little children's pool at one end. I think it's been changed now to a separate pool, but there was a place.

Then we wanted a kitchenette, you know, for meetings, and a variety of things we felt would lend to uses that the women would like to have. I don't remember them in detail now, but I do remember there was this problem. Of course, it's true (not so much now as it was then), when you get into any group of men when you're trying to decide things, a woman didn't have much influence unless she made herself pretty assertive.

Nathan: Yes, that's very true.

Did you have the impression that this recreation center perhaps became a place where faculty people could get to know each other a little better?

C. Grether: Yes. I think it's been a very wonderful place for faculty and students both, because faculty people have used it a great deal and I think that perhaps it has fulfilled the purpose that Mr. and Mrs. Haas had in mind for it. It's a delightful place. People now have private parties there as well.

Nathan: Yes, I have been to some there, and it's very, very pleasant.

C. Grether: Very nice, yes.

The Campus YWCA

Nathan: Were you involved in any other building committees?

C. Grether: The YWCA building, the new one.

Nathan: Oh, that beautiful Esherick building?

C. Grether: Yes, the Esherick building. Yes, I was very much involved. Greth used to say, "Well, I have a wife invested there."
[laughter] We used to meet in the Y cottage.

Nathan: I used to go to the Y cottage a lot, as a student.

C. Grether: Yes, that was a delightful place, and we were grieved to have to give it up.

Nathan: That was when Sather Gate was on the edge of the campus?

C. Grether: Yes, right. In fact, before that we had purchased a lot over on Durant because we didn't know where we could be. We wanted to be close; by "we" I mean the University Y. Then Clark Kerr was helpful in getting us the spot there on Bancroft.

Nathan: How did he help?

C. Grether: Well, he felt that this organization involved students, and that student organizations should be as close to the campus as possible. Durant, above Telegraph, was somewhat remote, and it would actually be better for student use to have it nearer the campus. The YWCA also owned a parking lot up near the College Women's Club. They sold that, then, and that money had been invested in the other lot. But the fact, I think, that they had had property there which they might have built on may have partly influenced him. I don't know. I had heard him say, and have heard him say since, that it was important for a student organization to have close access to the campus, and that's why he helped us get that building area.

Nathan: That is such a successful building.

C. Grether: It's a very successful building.

Nathan: And it's held up well.

C. Grether: We worked at every aspect of it, from how you could use it as a volunteer group, to how you could use it if you wanted to have big dinners, to how the aspect of the entrance is: does it make people feel welcome as they come in, or is it a cold building? All of these things. We play-acted out the whole thing, just went through it so that we knew what we were doing. It was a very interesting project.

Nathan: Were you an officer of the Y at that time?

C. Grether: Probably. I was an officer of the Y quite a bit of the time, everything from secretary to treasurer to trustee to chairman. You just kind of rotated through the whole thing. I don't remember what I was at that time, but I was undoubtedly an officer.

Nathan: What was there about the Y that attracted you and made you feel that you wanted to devote this much effort and time to it?

C. Grether: Well, I think primarily because it involved students, and I had been active in the Y as an undergraduate at the University of Montana. I was illegally, at that time, involved with the YWCA, because I was not a member of an evangelical church; in fact, I wasn't a church member at all.

Nathan: Oh, were you supposed to be then?

C. Grether: At that time we were supposed to be. Then the YWCA nationally changed their rule, and one of the things that we emphasized here was the all-inclusive nature of the YWCA. It was not for any particular group of women; all women were there, were invited to come and be part of it and be active.

The YWCA on this campus, I think, has done a tremendous job during the uproar period when there were so many dissidents. If they got started coming to the YWCA, some of the girls who started out thinking they had to be far-out radicals changed their minds and felt that it was better to work through the already-existing establishments.

In one case, where the girls had been invited to Russia and had been feted there and shown the best of Russia, one of the people eventually became very active in the YWCA, and it just changed her outlook completely. She was a girl who, I guess, had had a hard time as a high school student and thought nobody cared anything about her, but she found there that people really cared and involved her in what they were doing and so on. So I think that's one of the ways they've been useful, among just a myriad other ways which I couldn't begin to tell of here. This is one of the reasons why I felt it was important to be part of the YWCA and to help get support for it.

Nathan: I wondered whether you were active at the time of Lily Margaret Sherman.

C. Grether: Yes, indeed. She was executive for quite a long while after I came in there. She was one of the reasons I loved the Y, I think.

Nathan: Yes, there were some special people who've been involved.

C. Grether: Very special people, yes.

Nathan: Was there any other similar organization that was associated with the University that drew your interest? I wondered about International House or--?

C. Grether: I never got terribly involved in I House, I really think partly because when I get involved in something I more or less concentrate, and so I think I more or less concentrated my energies with the Y, rather than to spread out more.

St. John's Community Center

Nathan: Have you become active at all in some of the other, let's say, social service demands of the students? I was thinking, for example, more recently, of child care.

C. Grether: Not for the students. I've been very active in the child care center at St. John's, and that involves some students. In fact, I helped establish that.

Nathan: Did you? I had the feeling that you must have gotten into child care centers somewhere.

C. Grether: Yes, yes. Very much so.

Nathan: So St. John's has been one of your interests as well?

C. Grether: Yes. I was one of the founders of their Senior Citizens Center over there, too. That dates back a number of years now.

Nathan: Were you involved in the building at St. John's?

C. Grether: Unfortunately not. I wanted to be. But, well, I disapproved of some of the things they were expecting of that building. I'm not a quiet person; if I have a thought I usually tell it. When I discovered that the building was going forward anyway, I sort of offered to be helpful, but my suggestions were not welcome. The building really needed me, because I had just been through the YWCA building and I knew some things that especially the person who was in charge of the kitchen aspect of it did not know. Many people now think it was too bad. They don't think it was too bad that I wasn't involved, because they don't know, but they do know that the thing was not done as well as it could have been done.

Nathan: That's too bad.

C. Grether: Yes, it is.

Nathan: Were you involved at all with student housing, with the dormitory buildings?

C. Grether: No, not at all.

At St. John's, I might say, the reason, in the beginning, why I was against this big building was because it was not intended originally to be a community center. I said I would give all the support I could if it were going to be a community center, but the man who was minister then felt it should be just for the St. John's people, and quite a few others felt that way, too. But it has turned out to be a wonderful community center.

Nathan: Have you pursued your interest in the senior citizens centers in the city at all?

C. Grether: No, no, I haven't. I did teach painting down at the St. John's Senior Center for a couple of years. But, well, I just don't really have time. I have too many things of my own going. So I don't. I think there are quite a few people who are interested in this.

When I was a group leader at St. John's one time, I had organized our group to do a survey of Berkeley for employment for senior citizens before the term "senior citizen" became common. We'd hardly gotten ourselves put together when I heard that Peg [Margaret] Gordon was going to have such a study, and I decided that, well, there was no point in competing with Peg Gordon. She'd do a wonderful job, and she'd do the thing that I felt needed to be done, so we dropped that and did something else.

Nathan: But you were thinking along parallel lines.

C. Grether: Yes, definitely. Because there were quite a few older women who wanted work part-time.

Nathan: And were very competent, too.

C. Grether: Yes, that's right. So Peg did a beautiful job on that.

Nathan: Also, I recall that she was involved in a survey for fair employment practices. Did you get into that?

C. Grether: I did not get into that at all, no.

Nathan: That was focused more on the city as a whole, I think, and less on the senior citizens.

C. Grether: Yes.

Griffin's View

Nathan: Well, thinking about your involvement back on the campus again, you were suggesting, of course, that your husband had been involved both in the department and then universitywide, statewide. Then earlier something was said about your meeting Phil Griffin on the path on campus?

C. Grether: Yes. This delightful thing happened. Greth and I were walking along, coming from the Faculty Club down toward Sather Gate on the walk that skirts the old Student Union there, when we met Phil Griffin. After he had gone quite a few paces beyond us, he stopped and called to me by name. So we stopped, and he motioned to me to come to where he was, and he said, "I just want you. Come here, come here." So I went to where he stood, and he said "There's something I want to say to you, and that is that you are married to one of the giants of this University. I'm sure you probably know that, but I think it's so nice for you to hear it from somebody else. You are married to one of the giants of this University. He's a real giant here." Well, I appreciated that so much.

Nathan: Now marvelous of him to do that.

C. Grether: Wasn't it? He had nothing to gain from saying that. He was just a sweet person who was sincere and wanted to tell me as a special little gift, I guess.

Nathan: Exactly.

C. Grether: I've always cherished that.

Nathan: Well, of course. It is a great accomplishment if you can be well thought of by the faculty and the administration and the students. I think that's really wonderful.

C. Grether: Very nice, isn't it? Yes.

Nathan: Indeed, it is.

Any other thoughts of your on-campus associations with perhaps other faculty wives or deans' wives or any of that sort of intricate network that we know is there on the campus?

C. Grether: Well, I don't think of anything in particular, really. We had so many friends in many departments. That was one of the nice things about Greth's involvement across campus. We made friends in all departments, really, and this was augmented by the Section Club friends that I made. So I feel that we've had a very rich experience here on campus in knowing all the people we've known. There have been some wonderful people in our department, both as visitors and as permanent people, whom we've gotten to know very well.

Ida Sproul's Motto

Nathan: You mentioned that you had worked with Kay Kerr. I wondered whether you came along while Ida Sproul was around.

C. Grether: Oh, yes, very much so.

Nathan: Did you know her?

C. Grether: Oh, indeed, I did. She was a wonderful woman and, I think, brought a tremendous spirit of friendship and democracy to this campus. I like her motto. It always was, "There's always room for one more." When people wondered if they should bring somebody to tea, she always would say, "Well, of course, bring them. There's always room for one more." I loved that inclusiveness of hers. I know that influenced me, because I have been places where people would say, "No, you can't come. There's no reservation." I always said, "There's always room for one more. Let's do it the way Mrs. Sproul did it."

Nathan: I was thinking that when it was a question of one more at the dinner table, that never seemed to bother you.

C. Grether: No, it never bothered me at all--one more, two more, or whatever. You can always stretch it a little bit.

Nathan: Exactly. Well, we can certainly always come back to the campus if we think of some more things.

Sweden, Welfare, and the Role of Volunteers##

Nathan: I know that you also had opportunities to travel and that you go to Stockholm, among other places.

C. Grether: Right. We did.

Nathan: You were saying how you liked the people there.

C. Grether: One of the first things they did was to ask me what I wanted to see. Greth was going to be busy at his lectures. I said, "Well I would like to see your volunteer agencies," and they were puzzled. They didn't know at first what it was I had in mind, and I learned then that they don't have volunteer agencies as we do, because the government carries on the work that our United Way and Community Chest do here.

So then they said, "Well, then, we'll show you all of the welfare that we do," and they did very nicely take me to their child care centers and their senior citizens centers and so on. One interesting place was a big old apartment house where they had housed both pensioners (they call them the pensioners; they don't call them senior citizens) and young people with children, with the thought that this would bring them together and the pensioners could sit with the children while the women were working or away, and that it would help mix the groups together. I asked, "Did it work?" No, it didn't work.

Nathan: It didn't work?

C. Grether: It was a failure from that standpoint.

They showed me all these different things and took me around. It was always a deputy who took me, until the last day, when the head of the welfare department, whose name I've now forgotten, said he would take me to show me the place that he had dreamed of for a long time before it had finally materialized, and that was a home for pensioners.

So we took a ride quite a little distance out into the country and came to this really beautiful place where he showed

me through the whole building, introduced me to the various people who lived in their little apartments. He emphasized that they had their own things, and they had a little place where they could do their own cooking if they wanted to, or they could go to the dining room. It really was quite a place.

Then on our way back to Stockholm I asked him, now that he had his dream place, if the people who were there were happy. For a long moment he didn't reply. Then he said, "No." So I asked him why. "Well," he said, "They're away from their usual shopping places. They're away from friends that they made in their neighborhood. They often are far away from their families, and the public transportation is not very good there; it's a long ride." He said, "What we really need are people--the way you have it in your country and in England--people who will come and take them out, and be kind enough to take them shopping or wherever they want to go--volunteers who will come and show that they really care about them."

I said, "Well, you could surely find people who would do that. I can name, right offhand, five women, all across my fingers, in Berkeley who would do that immediately if they knew the need existed." He said, "I can't, because if I were to ask them, it would change the whole atmosphere. The hand of officialdom is the kiss of death in a thing like this."

Nathan: How interesting.

C. Grether: Wasn't that interesting? It gave me a whole new slant on being a volunteer, because here were people who needed volunteers in a prosperous country, but because the government does everything, nobody takes it upon himself or herself to carry on through, with one exception. I know one exception, a young woman who was here who learned our volunteer way, and she went back to Stockholm and volunteered to organize an International House there, and I believe she was successful. That was Britta Christensen, whose husband was here as a student and as a faculty member. There may be other exceptions now; I don't know. At that time she was there working on that project as a volunteer, so it was new there.

One of the young women--I think she had just come from Israel where, I believe, they do the same thing more or less as they do in Stockholm, where the government organizes whatever is being done. She challenged me on my statement about volunteers one evening when we were out someplace. "Well, what can a volunteer do that the government can't do?" she asked. I said,

"The volunteer can bring love," and I believe this is the major difference oftentimes. You see it happening quite a lot.

Nathan: As a volunteer, then, you really see your function as doing more than, let's say, just supplementing or providing what government agencies don't do?

C. Grether: I see volunteerism as perhaps innovating, and I think this is one of the big contributions of volunteers.

YWCA Harvest Camp

Nathan: Interestingly enough, thinking of volunteerism and perhaps the Y, it seemed to me that much of the very early discussion on fair employment, race relations, and many difficult topics began there.

C. Grether: It began there. That's right. And the housing. There was no housing office at the University for some time. The YWCA took care of that housing problem for the students, too.

During the war [World War II] the University YWCA combined forces with the downtown YWCA to organize a harvest camp for high school children.

Nathan: A harvest camp?

C. Grether: A harvest camp. I worked very hard on that. The farmers--first in Napa Valley, I believe it was, that I knew of--sent a plea to the high schools to send the students out to harvest, I think the tomato crop first. Well, our two girls were in high school at that time, and they felt a great urge to go. We felt we should not deny them the right to go to help, so we quite reluctantly let them go into Napa, into the fields there. There were promises made that there would be supervision and that at all times everything would be under control, but when they came home we found out that it was not so. They had to sleep outside, there was no good central place for them to eat, and one of them had been cheated by the farmer, who promised her pay one way and paid her a different price. This wasn't their experience alone.

So the YWCA decided it was necessary to do something positive about this, and, working with the Cal Extension people, they organized a camp in Auburn, because the fruit crop was

coming on, and arranged to have the high school building used as a living center. The children then had supervisors, one for the boys and one for the girls, who were there. A committee in Berkeley worked to keep the thing running, and I would oftentimes spend several hours a day at the phone, because I was sort of a coordinator. You know, all the food was rationed and we had to get the food rations, and just many things had to be done about that, and that came through the YWCA also. It is a wonderful organization, really.

Nathan: Again, a volunteer response?

C. Grether: There were quite a number of women in Berkeley who worked very hard at that.

One of the women whose daughter was in the camp called up and accused me of keeping her daughter's sugar ration.

Nathan: [laughter] Oh, wonderful.

C. Grether: She said I was collecting these sugar rations for my own use, for canning, and I assured her that I wasn't, but I was rather upset by that. Ky Ebright, who was the crew coach, was head of this organization for Extension. I called him, and he laughed. He called back after a while, and he said, "Carrie, don't worry. I've taken care of that. She knows now that you don't have her daughter's sugar ration."

Nathan: A war profiteer.

C. Grether: Yes.

Irene Fagin, who is now living in Berkeley, was also involved in that as the UC Extension worker. There was a big group of women volunteers who helped.

Nathan: Were there college students who went also, or were these primarily high school?

C. Grether: They were high school students, and if the college students went, they went under different auspices, because we felt that the high school students really needed someone to look after their welfare.

Nathan: Yes, indeed. Did that go through the whole summer, then?

C. Grether: Yes. Those students saved the crop. They harvested that whole fruit crop, which would have otherwise been spoiled, I guess, because there were no regular people to do it; they'd all gone into the war effort, which was more profitable, or gone to war, or whatever. They were not there.

Nathan: Did that go on for more than one year, as far as you know?

C. Grether: Yes, it went on for two years.

Nathan: What a big effort.

C. Grether: Yes, it was. [sneezes] Pardon me! You know, this is acacia time. I sneeze. [laughter]

Nathan: Yes, it's so beautiful, but--

C. Grether: Beautiful, but we're surrounded by acacia trees.

Travel in Russia and Elsewhere

Nathan: Your experiences in Sweden were revealing. What about some of your other travels?

C. Grether: We had two trips to Sweden, one when Greth was lecturing there at the university, and the other time when he got his honorary degree there. The second time we went from Sweden into Finland, and from there into Russia, because it was the first year Russia had opened up to tourists. We flew into Leningrad from Helsinki and made a several-days' tour of Russia. Now, I've forgotten whether it was ten days or two weeks, but we stayed as long as we were permitted to stay.

Nathan: Did you get to the Hermitage?

C. Grether: Oh, indeed, we did. That was a wonderful experience.

Nathan: For an artist especially.

C. Grether: Well, at that time I wasn't involved in being an artist. I waited for that until after Greth retired. I had all this energy and not so much to do, so that's when I started painting.
[laughter]

Nathan: I see.

C. Grether: They had the most marvelous collection there, and at that time it was all there. I understand from some visitors since then that they send it off from time to time, or part of it off. Catherine the Great was a great collector, and she had people, especially in France, collecting for her. If anybody thought something was worth getting, she just said, "Get it."

One interesting thing there--at that time the school children were being taken through the Hermitage and being shown all the works of art and all the treasures of the past of Russia. We were constantly reminded that this was possible now under the new regime, whereas previously school children were never allowed, nor was the ordinary person allowed to see all of these treasures. It was a wonderful experience.

We then went on down through the south. We heard a great deal and we saw a great deal of war damage in Leningrad, because that's where the terrible siege had taken place. So many people died of starvation there during that siege.

Then we went on to Moscow. While we were there we met a man who had been touring, and he said, "You won't see anything here except just what's right in the city unless you ask to see the Tolstoi monument. So if you would like to see something else in Russia besides the streets of Moscow, ask to see the Tolstoi monument." So we asked to see that.

We had a little volunteer named Valentina. She had never been out of the city of Moscow herself, so she was very pleased when we got permission to see the Tolstoi monument, because the Russians are very, very proud of this. It was quite a long way into the country, two or three hours' drive. This was Tolstoi's home and his original plantation where he had lived, and it was, I guess, as he had left it. There were pictures on the wall of his friends. For instance, he was a great friend of William Jennings Bryan, and there was an autographed photograph from Bryan.

We went all through it. The one embarrassing thing to us was that as we came up toward the building there was a big crowd of Russian people standing, waiting to go in, because they'd let only a few people in at a time. As we came, the guide said, "Open up, open up." We said, "We'll wait our turn." "No. Open up." So they all waited, and they had to wait while we went

through. That embarrassed us. We didn't quite like that, but we couldn't persuade them to let us wait our turn.

Then they served a very nice luncheon there to us, with the guide and two or three other people, functionaries around there. And there was the ride back to Moscow through the country. As we went along there were these little, sort of--well, I can only call them gingerbread houses. They were very much-decorated cottages. As we looked at them, the guide was embarrassed. She said "Don't look at those. They are not our best houses. We'll show you our best houses."

So then they did show us their new apartment houses, which were built with very modern labor-saving devices, especially room-saving. They were proud of the way they would put in a shelf which would let down and double for a dining bar or something like this. This, they felt, was their better housing. We went through a great deal of that and saw the materials they had there. It was an extremely interesting trip.

We went on, then, down to the southern part of the state and out through a little town up in the mountains, the name of which I've forgotten now. So we saw quite a bit of the country.

We found the women, particularly, very friendly; the men, rather frightened. If we wanted to take a picture, the men would turn around so they couldn't be identified, but the women would show. They were friendly, and they were very outgoing toward us.

Nathan: An interesting way to go into Russia, from Finland.

C. Grether: Yes.

Nathan: You, of course, were aware, I would imagine, of a great--

C. Grether: A great difference, yes. Well, to go from Scandinavia to Russia was a big change. In Scandinavia the fabrics--of course, I sew and I'm interested in fabric. In stores in Stockholm they had prize-winning designs in the fabrics, beautifully woven, and just beautiful things.

In Russia it was the first year they had opened up fabric counters to the women, so that they wouldn't all be wearing the same thing. I had noticed as I went around the streets that often the dresses were ill-fitting. We went into the department store and saw these fabrics, which were not top quality at all, but they would have quite a number of different patterns of

design. But they had only two dress patterns. So the woman would pick her fabric and then take it to the cutter, who would cut it according to whichever design she wanted. Then the woman would take the fabric to somebody who would stitch it together for her. If it fit her very well, that was lucky. If it didn't fit her very well, at least she had a different dress.

There was some kind of an industrial fair there at that time. One of the American men told me that he had brought a Ladies' Home Journal along with him, and when he sat down at a table in a restaurant he would put that on the corner of the table, and it would disappear. Then he'd go back a couple of days later and it would be back on the table again, and then it would disappear again. He said, "You know, if I were running this country, I would keep my eye on the women; they want change."

They used to stare at me because of my clothes, and also because I was a woman past fifty. One woman said, "In Russia, women your age are old women, and they're fat and they don't look smart." They were just amazed to think that an American woman coming in, of my age, looked so much like a younger person, because they said the older women just didn't take care of themselves properly. They also were very much interested in my shoes, which happened to be red [laughter] and very comfortable, very wonderful walking shoes. But they just stared at my feet.

Nathan: That's interesting.

C. Grether: We haven't been there since then. I wish we could go sometime again, because I understand that quite a change has taken place.

Nathan: Did you have a chance to see child care centers or any particular agencies in Russia that you would be interested in?

C. Grether: No, we didn't. I would see that the children were out with the teachers, and we were always shown the children and told how well they were taking care of them and so on, but we didn't get into the child care centers.

We did get into one of the universities there because somebody here had given Greth the telephone number of one of the professors. When we got there, there were telephones but no telephone books. We just never thought of such a thing as no telephone books. We had been, of course, under surveillance in the hotel.

Nathan: Intourist was taking care of you at this time, wasn't it?

C. Grether: Yes, yes. And the minute they'd found that we were in touch with a professor, their attitude changed markedly.

Nathan: More friendly?

C. Grether: Much more friendly, much more respect shown than had been previously. We went to see where he taught, and had a nice conversation with him.

Then we went down into Southern Russia and went into the library down there and were welcomed because the [Robert] Sibleys had been there ahead of us. I think maybe Greth mentioned that in his interviews.

Nathan: I think so. This was in Southern Russia?

C. Grether: In Southern Russia, in one of the libraries down there.

Nathan: So the Sibleys paved the way.

C. Grether: They had been there and had left this Berkeley book that they had written. They brought it out to show it to us, very proudly. So that was a happy experience for us.

Of course, we traveled through England. We were there in 1933 and, I think I mentioned before, in Germany at that time. We went back to England. Our daughter was married to an air force man stationed in England, so we went there and visited Scotland at that time, too, briefly.

Of course, we've traveled around the United States quite a lot. And we went into Indonesia and Bali and India. Everywhere we go, Greth has former students. In Singapore they had a big party of alumni to welcome him.

Nathan: Did you feel that you knew a little more about these places because you knew people there? Did that help somewhat?

C. Grether: It helps. It really does, because you have a feeling about the people, what kinds of interests they have, from the students you've known. They have helped, I think, in giving those of us who are here, who don't get there even, an idea about them and how they live. I think I mentioned, didn't I, about the boy from one of the Arabian countries (I don't know which) who told me they didn't live in tents.

Nathan: Yes. [laughter]

C. Grether: The International House one year asked faculty wives to invite foreign students in for Thanksgiving dinner to let them see how we celebrate. So I was given a name to call at a certain boarding house, and I called that person, and he had already accepted another invitation. But he said, "Could I ask a favor of you?" "Yes," I said, "What is it?" "When I hang up, will you please call again and ask for Sam? Sam is the only person here who hasn't received an invitation to go to Thanksgiving dinner." I said, "All right. What's his other name?" He said, "Never mind. You couldn't pronounce it. Just ask for Sam, but don't tell him I mentioned this."

So when we hung up, I called back and asked for Sam, and Sam accepted. We went to get him and bring him here to Thanksgiving dinner, and he sat at my right.

Nathan: Your whole family was here?

C. Grether: Our whole family was here. He was the only one who, about halfway through the dinner, turned to me and said, just out of the clear sky, "And we do not live in tents!" I said, "Well, that's very interesting. How did you happen to mention that?" He said, "Well, because sooner or later, wherever I go in this country, I am asked if we live in tents." So I asked him, "Well, if you don't live in tents, what do you live in?"

Nathan: The perfect opening.

C. Grether: He said, "We live in houses very much like yours, and we have streets--" and he went on to describe the perfectly modern setting in which, of course, the cities there are. I was amused by that. It indicates, too, that there has been a good deal of ignorance about how people in other parts of the world live.

When the Indonesian students were here in such numbers, I remember that Sukarno was somebody that many of them did not like. I asked one of them if there was any opposition. He said, "No. In our country, whoever is the head of the government is that without question." I just thought, "What a difference between here and there." Of course, eventually Sukarno was overthrown.

Nathan: Yes.

C. Grether: There, it's a kind of passive attitude that these students had toward whoever was in government. The Dutch had been overthrown, too, so I don't think, perhaps, they were as passive as this person thought.

Nathan: Or perhaps he was being cautious. Who knows?

C. Grether: It could be, yes.

When we were in Indonesia, I was very disturbed by the high rate of infant mortality and the poor living conditions of the people in some of the compounds we saw. At that time they were sending quite a number of men to this country to learn how to build roads and do various engineering things and so on, and I was somewhat outraged that they were not sending women. I felt that the women should be here to see about the sanitation, to understand about refrigeration, and to know enough to make demands upon their government to have things done that were not being done.

Greth said, "Well, why don't you go to see the American ambassador about that?" So we did. His name was Ambassador Jones, and he was very nice. I said I thought we should be bringing women instead of just men, and I explained why I thought so. He agreed with me, but he said, "Right now there isn't enough money, and we have to have priorities. Hopefully sometime the women will come and see the things that you think they should see."

I had been very much upset, the year before we left, I think it was, because the official hostess of the government, who was in San Francisco, had been hostess to some people from Africa. Her idea of entertaining them had been to take them shopping to I. Magnin's, to invite Hollywood starlets to come here to have dinner with them, and so on. So far as I could tell from the publicity, she never took them to the hospitals, or to the pasteurization plants, or to any of the places that I thought they should go to understand what they could do in their own country.

That was the thing I thought we should be doing for the Indonesian women, too, because the doctor in one of the cities told us he had never seen as much typhoid in his entire practice in the United States as he had seen in one year there, and that was because of the lack of sanitation for their drinking water. I hope it's been improved since then.

You learn wherever you go, and you kind of feel--the women in Indonesia were strong.

Nathan: Were they?

C. Grether: Yes. They were doing things, and I got a chance to meet with some of them and some of their groups to see what they were doing, and I felt very hopeful about the women in Indonesia.

Nathan: So you felt that if they had had some of these opportunities to travel, they would have benefitted?

C. Grether: Oh, yes. I thought so at the time, and I still think so, and I hope they have done what needed to be done.

Nathan: I wondered, too, whether the schools of business administration, perhaps, might be a magnet for students from other countries.

C. Grether: Yes. In fact, this school, the School of Business Administration, conducted a school in Indonesia and had exchange students with Indonesia. There were quite a number of Indonesian students here during that period. We used to have them out here at our house and got acquainted with them.

Nathan: You've certainly benefitted immensely from all of this interchange.

XXXII A WORKING RANCH IN MONTANA (1980)

Nathan: I wondered, certainly, whether you would want to go back in time or (also it's current, I'm sure) to talk about your interest in the ranch.

C. Grether: Oh, the ranch. Yes, we've continued our interest there.

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Nathan: You were saying earlier that your father was a young man from Pennsylvania.

C. Grether: He was from a family who had received a large land grant from William Penn. They came as engineers and geographers, really, and mapmakers, surveyors. They had a lot of land in Pennsylvania and, of course, as families tend to do, they kept selling it off and selling it off. So by the time my father was a young man there was only a little farm left.

Nathan: What was his name?

C. Grether: David Richardson. He was David Richardson Maclay.

From his point of view, there were no more opportunities in Pennsylvania for young men, so he and his brothers came West, primarily to get land. My father invested in land, all that he wanted. Then when my brothers--I had two older brothers--decided they would prefer to be ranchers to being something else, he bought more land so that there would be enough for everybody to have a ranch. All five of us, then, would have a ranch.

Nathan: How big does a ranch have to be in Montana?

C. Grether: Well, it has to be a fairly large ranch.

Nathan: For cattle?

C. Grether: For cattle and hay; it depends. Now, some of them are smaller now because orchards don't have to be so big. But if you're going to raise cattle, you need range land and grain land and, especially, you need hay land. My father was a cattle rancher.

We inherited this ranch from him after his death; we got it in 1952. We had always gone up to Montana whenever we could in the summertime because it's such a delightful place to be. Since then we've gone every year, except when we were away. For instance, the year we were in Sweden we didn't get there except briefly. We decided to keep the ranch and make it a working ranch. In order to do that we had to have somebody there to lease it, and we would have to help manage it. So that's what we have done.

Restoring and Managing the Ranch

C. Grether: I thought, knowing the Montana people, that those ranchers wouldn't want to talk to a woman; they want to talk to another man. So I just sloughed it all off onto Greth [laughter], and he took it on like an oldtimer, you know. He just managed that ranch beautifully from the very beginning. It was a run-down place when we got it because someone had had the whole thing operating as a sheep ranch, and sheep are very hard on range; they eat way down.

Nathan: To the roots of the grass?

C. Grether: To the roots of grass; and so do horses.

The range had been largely destroyed of native grasses, and we got help from the United States Conservation Service to replant the native grasses and to try to restore the range as much as possible. We got help from the engineers of the Conservation Service to determine what was the best irrigation system to use, because it was flood irrigation when we got it. That was before the days of sprinklers. They helped with that and with the planning. Then we had good people on the ranch. The technique for irrigation changed to sprinklers, and Greth right away got help from the conservation people to go in there and tell us how was the best way to do the sprinkler system.

Meantime, the first person who leased the ranch died, and we found another father and son to come in there and take it over. There have been wonderful people on the ranch. They were good farmers, and at that time they were in a place where they were very unhappy because there didn't seem to be any particular future in it for them. They'd also been on one place where the person had promised they could keep it for years, and then decided to sell it once they got it shaped up so it would look good. So they were not very trusting at first, but we told them we didn't want to sell it. We had nobody in our family who wanted to come there to operate it, but we did want to have a nice place, a paying ranch, if possible.

Nathan: Did they have their own dwelling on the ranch?

C. Grether: There was a good dwelling on the ranch, which had been a schoolhouse at one time, remodeled by the people who had lived there before. The man who had been the sheep rancher had remodeled. His wife was quite gifted, and she had done a good job of remodeling this place and making it attractive, and it had a pretty garden around it, and so on.

So this father and son came in there, and Greth helped them plan, and they provided the capital for the new sprinklers. They just made it into a beautiful place. They, too, are cattle people. They raise their hay and their grain and cattle. The father has, meantime, retired, and the son has it; and his son is helping him now.

His wife is a woman with a good deal of energy, and for a while she raised chickens and sold eggs. Then she got tired of that. She opened up a little restaurant where they could sell hamburgers from their own beef, and that's what they have, a nice little restaurant, which she operates.

Nathan: So they take care of your cattle, and then they have some of their own cattle on the ranch?

C. Grether: Well, none of the cattle are ours. They own all the cattle. We own the ranch.

Nathan: I see. I wondered how one would work that.

C. Grether: It can be worked either way. We could own the crops and own the cattle and do it on the shares, but they'd prefer not to, and so would we, because it's a problem when you come to divide. Unless you're right there, well, it's always questionable whether people

are satisfied, both parties. So we just do it on a cash basis with these people and help them in the planning and provide capital for making improvements.

Nathan: Very interesting.

C. Grether: They furnish the labor and own the cattle and the crops, and it works very well.

A Place on the Lake

Nathan: When you go there during the summer, you have a different house?

C. Grether: We live on a lake which is about seventy miles from the ranch. We for a while rented a place on the lake, but we had an opportunity to buy a place which was just right for us. It has three log cabins and a boathouse. Greth had been wanting a place where he'd have a little study all his own, because when we went to Montana he always worked at his writing or his project, whatever he was doing. This place had a little original log cabin, one room, and oh, that was just ideal. Then it had a main cabin with more room. The people who lived there said they could sleep nineteen people there. Well, of course, that would be pretty crowded, but it shows you that it can be expanded.

We took the log cabin which was the woodshed and the garage combined; there was a double garage. We turned one of the garages into a guest place and a utility place, so we have room for our children when they come or any guests who come; we have a special guest place for them. Then, meanwhile, since the family tend to come, now, two or three families at a time [chuckles], we have added a bathroom to the little study, so it also can be used separately.

That's where we live. It means that we drive to the ranch. I have family, relatives, living there in the valley, and sometimes we stay overnight with one of them. My brother has a ranch there, and my sister had a ranch. I had two sisters, one of whom has died, and her children now are occupying their ranch and they've split it up. Subdivision is going on there now, so they can sell pieces of their ranch, and they can make their living that way.

Water Rights in the Creek

- Nathan: On your ranch, then, I presume you must have--what? A river? Water?
- C. Grether: We have a stream, a creek, called Eight-Mile Creek; the water supply comes from Eight-Mile Creek. My father was very foresighted. He bought up all the little places with all the water rights farther down the stream, except one, so that we have enough water to do a good job of irrigating. It's mostly gravity flow, so there's very little need for electricity, which is a great economy, of course. If it were used as flood irrigation, it would not be very efficient, but this way it's very efficient.
- Nathan: Does it run all year? It isn't like a California creek that disappears?
- C. Grether: No, it runs all year, but there isn't enough water in it after about the middle of July to do much irrigation, because the water comes from whatever snow there is in the mountains. Once that's melted down there are a few springs which come into it, but not enough to do a big job of irrigation. In a dry year, of course, that's a problem, but ordinarily there's enough to have good crops.
- Nathan: You were speaking in an interesting way, I thought, of the advent of subdivisions. As subdivision comes in, will there be problems of water supply, do you foresee?
- C. Grether: We foresee that there will be. In fact, a couple of years ago an effort was made to dam the creek so that water would collect that normally runs down to the river, and then to use that for--
- Nathan: What river does it empty into?
- C. Grether: It empties into the Bitterroot River. The Bitterroot River is a tributary of Lewis and Clark River, which eventually gets down to Columbia River. It's on the western slope.
- Nathan: Yes. So the ramifications of this really are important.
- C. Grether: Yes, they're strong. You really have to watch it; somebody's always after the water up there. It's semi-arid country, and, yes, that's a problem, I think. Some people say that underneath the land there's lots of water because it was once a lake, but in some of the places they are having problems already drilling,

especially in the hills. People want to get up on the hills because the views are beautiful. It's really beautiful country.

Power Lines, Subdivisions, and Greenbelting

C. Grether: A number of years ago the power company wanted to put a power line through our ranch and through a lot of the country, which is beautiful country, and, of course, we did not want it. There was quite a lot of opposition to it. There was an organization called--something to the effect that they were a landowners' organization of some kind--and we joined that because we didn't want the lines either.

There was a big open hearing about it, and I had to get up and make a talk about why we didn't want this across our ranch. One of the things I commented about was the beauty of the view. They would come right across a place where we had planned to build a house, and somebody else had already tried to buy that particular spot because the view is so beautiful from there. People all through there want to live on the hills and the mountains because it's a gorgeous view.

They're moving up the mountains, and as they dig wells, then the people farther down are losing the water because they tap the underground streams first. So there has been quite a problem about that, and I think it will continue to be.

Right now there's a suit going on because the subdivision was platted originally in 1913, and then the company went broke. That's when my father bought quite a bit of this land, by the way--from the bankruptcy trustee. The more recent platting was to break up the bigger plats into small units, and the claim by citizens who didn't want this has been that it was illegally done. A judge has recently ruled that it was indeed illegally done, but that it would not harm the people who had come in there and innocently put a good deal of capital into improving their places, but that otherwise there would be serious problems about this.

So it has made problems all around us, because these subdivisions are right against every border of our land, and we are trying to avoid this. We have (so-called) greenbelted the ranch.

Nathan: I wondered if you were able to do that.

C. Grether: Supposedly that will prevent taxation from being set at the subdivision level, which, of course, would be much higher.

Mining, Paper Mills, and Population

C. Grether: Now a new development has come. On our ranch is an old mine which was operated by Marcus Daley in the 1860s. The rumor is that he took a great fortune out of that mine. He had Chinese in there working at the mine. It was known as China Diggings, and there was a post office and little cabins all around where these people worked. Well, with the interest in gold and silver, of course, somebody now wants to go in there and open it up and re--whatever they call it when they put the braces in--and bore in it again. So Greth is now looking into this problem, to see whether or not we go forward with this.

Nathan: Would you lease the rights to mine, then? Is that the way you would do it?

C. Grether: Neither one of us knows a thing about it. [laughter] That's what he's trying to find out. It's a whole new ball game.

My father used to lease it some, but a couple of young men went in there and evidently didn't understand what they were doing, because one of them took a gasoline engine in there to help with the digging. He lost his life from the carbon monoxide poisoning. Then, after that, my father would not let anybody go in there at all. We have it boarded off, and "No Trespassing" signs there, and so on. Of course, people do go in, I suppose, once in a while, to see what's there, but we hope they don't. But now this is a whole new thing coming, so we don't know what management of the ranch is going to involve next.

Nathan: I presume you still don't have any particular problem of air pollution yet. Is the air still all right there?

C. Grether: Yes, up where we are, both at the lake and up on the ranch. But in Missoula, which was once just a beautiful place, the air pollution is really bad because they have a paper mill there. In

a little town right close by they have, they say, the biggest mill in the world; the Champion Lumber Company is in there with their mill. It's a wood products area, and it depends upon timber and wood products, now that the mining is at a low ebb. But maybe mining will come back again now. We shall see. It was also a big cattle ranch area, but the subdividing is going on all around, all over.

Nathan: Is the State of Montana not inclined to act to control the subdivisions?

C. Grether: Well, in many ways they welcome them because it brings more taxes and it brings people there, and so the problem is, really, if a person needs to make his living there.

Nathan: Yes.

C. Grether: There's really no industrial basis for this much influx of population.

We got our gasoline at a station where a man who retired in California had come up to Montana because he wanted to get away from the smog and the crowds and the freeways, and he opened up a little business there with his gas station. When we were there last summer he was sick one day, and his wife had called the employment agency, so a young man I suppose about in his middle twenties was there. He had just arrived from California because he wanted to get away, and he was looking for work.

So people are leaving Chicago and New York, the crowded areas, to come to Montana and, I understand, also to Idaho, where it's open. Of course, what I fear they'll do is crowd it.

Nathan: Of course. Yes, it's ironic, isn't it?

C. Grether: Yes. But they will drive miles and miles and miles to work, to go to Missoula to a job, or to Hamilton to a job, or wherever.

Nathan: This is almost a repetition of some of the experiences in California.

C. Grether: That's what I said to this group when I made the little speech, that I wished we had time to describe the mistakes that had been made in California, because it looked as though Montana were going to do the same thing. A number of years ago Greth went to the county commissioners at Hamilton and offered to donate his time to help them plan.

Nathan: They weren't interested?

C. Grether: And they weren't interested.

The Constitution, Eminent Domain, and Proof of Rights

Nathan: Did you find it difficult to stand up and make your presentation?

C. Grether: No, I didn't, because I really felt it and I thought it was important to say that this was bad for the country. This power company already had lines through the Bitterroot Valley, and we felt they were not being quite straightforward with their purpose. They won, of course, because the Montana Constitution is so written that the power companies and the mining companies have eminent domain.

Nathan: The power companies have eminent domain?

C. Grether: Yes. You should understand that the power companies and the mining companies were the ones who wrote the first Constitution of Montana.

Nathan: Very interesting.

C. Grether: Yes. The Anaconda Copper Company has the right of eminent domain in Butte, and they are just moving people out of their residences and places of business in Butte now, I understand, because they still have that right.

Nathan: Well, Anaconda Copper sort of denuded a whole area of its vegetation. I remember seeing that. There's a tall stack, and the land is absolutely barren from the effluent, I think.

C. Grether: Oh, yes. That's around Anaconda and Butte both, yes. I have been told--I haven't seen it myself--that it's progressing at a rapid rate. They now have open-pit mining in Butte, and the Anaconda Company, I think, sold it so somebody else, who just inherited this right of eminent domain. Somebody told me that some of the streets that used to be very prosperous are just denuded now with this.

So their right of eminent domain over our land held. The only thing, I suppose, that happened was that some of the people,

especially, got better damages, more realistic damages. We don't feel that we got anywhere near the damage that was done to our place, but we just decided we're too far away to do anything more about it, so we went along with the group.

Nathan: Is there any thought of introducing a constitutional amendment to change this practice?

C. Grether: There's been a new Constitution written within the last few years, and that's one reason why we're having all this water problem now, because in the new Constitution you have to prove that you have the water right. This means we have to go back and get out all the original papers and look up all the original documents and make a new claim for this water. So we have to do that next summer, and that's a big job.

Nathan: Yes, even for a couple of researchers like you. You're better off, probably, than some people who don't know how to do research.

C. Grether: Quite possibly. There's an office in Missoula, with two young men who are there to tell people what the problem is and what to do. One young man, in perhaps his late twenties, said he thought he would be retired before they got this settled. [laughter] But the papers have to be in by 1982, so we don't have too much longer to work at it. We were just notified last year that we had to do this. So think of us as digging down through the abstracts.

Nathan: Oh, yes. In a way, it would be interesting, but an awful job, certainly.

C. Grether: It is interesting. I have been all through the abstracts for another purpose, and you could write a wonderful history from them. There's lots of human interest there and so on.

Indians, Apples, and a Lesson

Nathan: Were there any Indian interests in your ranch? I think you said perhaps there had been.

C. Grether: The Bitterroot Valley had been an Indian reservation, as I mentioned. When I was a child, the Indians would come through the Bitterroot Valley regularly every fall. They had the right

to come in there to hunt and to dig the bitterroot roots. Bitterroot was a little flower--which is the Montana flower, by the way--which grew close to the earth. I say "grew" because the sheep ate up all the bitterroot roots, and we don't have any more on our ranch. It grows close to the earth, and it has a root which is quite long that has some kind of medicinal value for the Indians. They would come through every year. We'd see them. They'd ride single-file through the valley, mostly on horseback, but some in little buggies with a horse.

I remember one fall they came through just as the early apples were ripe. We had a Duchess apple tree right near the road. My little sister and I were wearing full blouses and full skirts, and we'd fill apples all the way round in our blouses and fill up our skirts. Then we'd run to the road and hand one apple to each person as he or she went by.

Nathan: Was this your own impulse?

C. Grether: This was our own impulse. An elderly couple in a buggy came along, and the elderly squaw--we gave them each one--held out her hand for another one. I shook my head, "No, it is for the next one." But she was a very commanding sort of person, and she insisted, "No, you give it to me." I said again, "No." "Yes, you give it to me." She took all our apples. Behind, the next person coming was a teenage boy. I shall never forget the look of disappointment on his face when he did not get an apple. It was really, I believe, my first lesson in selfishness--what happens when you give in to selfishness, and what happens when people are selfish. I was just a little child, and I just still feel sorry about that boy. [soft laughter]

The Indians didn't keep coming very many years. While I was still in grade school they were moved permanently off that reservation onto the Flathead reservation, but we often saw them. They'd come to work at the ranch. They liked to come when it was time to dig potatoes or pick fruit or anything like that.

XXXIII SOME PERSONAL INTERESTS

Nathan: During all the other things you did, apparently you've also had some time to develop some personal interests. I know you sew very well indeed.

Sewing

C. Grether: I like to sew. I always, all my life, made things that I specially wanted. When I was a little girl, my father would have a seamstress come to the house twice a year. Then, as we were older and went to school and high school and college, we just bought our clothes ready-made. But even when I was in high school, if there was something I specially wanted, I would make it myself.

Nathan: You knew how to do that?

C. Grether: I knew how to do that. We had a German housekeeper one time who taught both of us little girls how to sew. Every day we'd come home from school, and she'd make us sit down in a chair and sew something, so we learned from her, I guess. It was a pleasure to sew, and it was useful to sew.

I always bought my clothes, except for some special thing that I had an urge to make, until during World War II, when it was impossible to buy good ready-made clothes and sometimes any ready-made clothes. Our girls were teenagers and they needed clothes; you know how teenagers are. So I started sewing for them, and I enjoyed it so much that I then began sewing more seriously for myself. I like it so much better now than ready-

mades that I just have continued. Every once in a while I buy a ready-made, and I usually find I don't wear it.

I sew sometimes for Greth, or I sew for my sister, or I sew for almost anybody who wants something made. I really think it's fun.

Nathan: Well, apparently you can also tailor. You make men's shirts magnificently.

C. Grether: Yes, I'll try anything. [chuckles]

Nathan: And beautiful ties.

C. Grether: Yes. Oh, and I upholster our furniture, and I do anything that I feel I'm not supposed to be able to do. I think that's fun. [laughter] I got to resenting people saying, "Well, you can't make a good-looking thing at home," or, "You can't do any upholstery; that has to be done by a professional." I just got so I resented that. I decided to find out, and I discovered that you can do a lot of things if you only think you can. I just have a feeling that you can do anything you really want to. Now, whether that's right or wrong, I don't know, but that's the way I operate.

Nathan: Good for you. Do you have a special sewing room in the house?

C. Grether: No, I sew out in the breakfast room. It has the best light, and it's warm out there, and it's convenient to everything, and the ironing board is in the kitchen, so that's where I sew. I paint in the kitchen because it's the easiest place to keep everything.

Nathan: How did you get started painting?

C. Grether: I started, really, when I was in high school. My mother was quite a good painter, and so we lived with paintings and with the idea of painting.

Nathan: With oils primarily?

C. Grether: She painted in oils. But I started in high school. When I went to Missoula High School they had a very good art department, and there I studied design and watercolor and drawing, and actually took prizes in the tri-county fair when I was in the last two years in high school. I had planned to take art all through the university when I went there.

Discovering Economics###

Nathan: You were saying that you were thinking of Chicago?

C. Grether: Well, Chicago was where people whom I knew went, who wanted to continue in their art.

I started [in Montana], the first year and a half about, in the art department, and quite by accident I got into another class. The girl who later became my sister-in-law wanted to go into a class called international economics, I believe, which was taught by a man by the name of Louis Levine, whom I mentioned earlier. Well, he was notoriously hard; everybody complained about how hard he was. Ruth wanted to take this course because she said she'd also heard it was interesting. I said, "No, I don't want to take it; I hear it's a very hard course." "Come on," she said, "it won't hurt you to do a little work, and I want somebody in here with me." So, just to be good natured, I went in there.

He just changed my whole outlook. He made me understand that economics was a story about people earning their living, and what happens to the world as a result of people earning their living and doing all the things they do. He was quite a dramatic sort of person. He was a Russian, and had come all through Europe. He would dramatize the Tyrolean Valley and how the people lived there, how they dressed on their holidays, and what the dangers were to them if they didn't have an outlet for their goods and a harbor and so on and so on, all the way through. Suddenly I realized economics was a very exciting subject.

So I took economics, all that I could get. Well, it wasn't quite as segregated as it is now. I took, along with that, political science and psychology, and I also had taken quite a lot in the English Department, so I really came out of there with quite a rounded education. In fact, it was so well rounded that I didn't have enough units in economics to have a major. But the

kind professors who knew me said they could put it together, and they did, so I got my degree in economics.

Learning to Paint and to Look

C. Grether: Then I didn't take up art again until after Greth retired as dean. Of course, I had done a lot of entertaining and a lot of running around as the wife of a dean, and we didn't have all those activities any more. He had a job in Washington for a number of weeks. While there I just was living in a little one-room apartment, and I decided I would write. I started to write, using the information that I could get from the papers; I used that as a background and started a novel.

When I was here, I went to the Writers' Workshop (the Section Club Workshop), and in that workshop was a woman who was a painter. Her name was Alice Shea, and she kept saying to me, "I just feel sure you would enjoy painting. I don't know why, but I just think you would enjoy painting." She was taking classes in Richmond, and she tried to get me to go there. I said, "Oh, no. That's too far away. I wouldn't think of going out there. I could never get there by 9 o'clock."

She kept talking about how I should try painting. One day I saw her, and she said, "I have enrolled in a class for you now in painting, and it's right down here at Live Oak Park. You have no excuse not to try it." She had enrolled for me and, I guess, had paid my fee, because I gave her the \$10 fee. [laughter] That started me on painting and, I'm just telling you, I was so excited about it; I could neither think nor do anything else for weeks after I got started painting. It was the most exciting thing I had done for a long time.

Nathan: It tapped something in you, didn't it?

C. Grether: Yes, it did. The teacher was Howard Margolis. He tried to get rid of me for a while. He thought I was just another little old lady coming in there to paint flowers. That, of course, made me mad. [laughter]

Nathan: That's just what you needed.

C. Grether: I thought to myself, "Well, I am going to stay in that class, no matter what," and I did, and he was very respectful by the time

we were through. In fact, he wanted to buy one of my paintings. He saw one, and he said, "Will you sell me one of your paintings?" I said, "No." He said, "I would just love to have one of your paintings." So I said, "I will give you one, but I will not sell you one." I let him take his choice.

Nathan: What did he choose?

C. Grether: It was all figure painting then, except once in a while it was still life. He chose one; the model was sitting at the piano, and on top of the piano was a flower pot full of flowers. I painted the piano, and then I was working on painting the figure, and I suddenly realized the figure was so small that her head would be way down, too low. So I pulled her neck up and put that flower pot on top of her head [laughter], and that was the one Howard chose. It was completely crazy, but it was amusing.

Nathan: Yes. Do you have favorite subjects in your painting? Are there some things you prefer to paint?

C. Grether: I would have kept on painting figures, but after that class the Recreation Department discontinued that class. I don't know just why; he had some kind of a misunderstanding with the director down there, I think. So after that I couldn't find a figure-painting class, short of going out to Richmond. I tried that one time, and it was very unsatisfactory as far as I was concerned.

So then I went into another class. Well, I went into several different classes, but they were not figure painting, so I would do other things--landscapes or still life or whatever.

This little figure up here [indicates painting on the wall] was done in that first class. We like that one.

Nathan: Yes, that is very pleasing, something about her shoulders and the way she sits.

C. Grether: And Greth has one in his study that reminds him a great deal of one of his sisters.

Well, I've done just about a little of everything. Right now I'm trying not to do too many of the same thing; people get stuck on things, I discover. You get so you do the same thing over and over again. You have to make a real effort to do something different, and I do that. Of course, I change my style momentarily just for fun.

I don't work at marketing. When we had lots of students here--even after I started, we'd have quite a few people come in--often the students would want them, and I would sell them for a very small sum. Then I've had a number of shows, one person shows, and that's fun.

Nathan: In Berkeley?

C. Grether: In Berkeley. The first one I had was at Alta Bates Hospital.

Nathan: Oh, yes. That's a fine display area.

C. Grether: I've had several at both YWCAs, and I had one at Herrick Hospital, and then I have participated in group shows, too. I do not enter the competitive shows because that's a hard job; you really have to work at that, and it usually takes your weekends, or at least part of them. I don't do anything that interferes with our weekends because this is special. Greth's home usually then. I think this started when he was away so much. Then he would be away often during the week; he'd have evening meetings and dinner meetings. So weekends would be our time together.

Nathan: Sure.

C. Grether: We started it then, and I don't like it any other way, so that's what we keep on doing.

Nathan: You used a phrase earlier that I liked so much. You mentioned that painting was both an individual and a social activity.

C. Grether: Yes, it is.

Nathan: How does that work?

C. Grether: I don't have a studio where I paint by myself, as some people do. I paint in groups, have always done that, although sometimes, of course, I'll paint here alone. But basically I paint with a group, and the reason for that is that you react to each other's work, what you're doing, and somebody else will see something that you do that's either good or bad and respond to that. It's a real social experience to be in a group that works together.

For instance, the other day we were in this group, and somebody put up a painting. There was a bird which I could see, which she couldn't see. So I mentioned, "Oh, what a nice bird." Well, this person then didn't want the bird, and so she took it out, you see.

Nathan: I see.

C. Grether: Somebody else said to me, "Oh, that's a beautiful color. Now, don't change that. I love the way you've got that," whereas I might have easily moved something into that, you see. Well, this is really cooperative in a way; not that you paint on each other's things, but you react to each other's things. It's a lot of fun and it's helpful, and I think you do better work because of it.

Nathan: Do you find that you are able to analyze other people's work?

C. Grether: Yes. This is part of the instruction, that you learn how to do that, and this helps you. If you analyze somebody else's work, it makes you more efficient in analyzing your own work.

One teacher that I had was Joe Stone--Joseph Stone; he's now dead. He used to say, "Now, take this home, and when you get it home, look at it. I don't mean just look at it; I mean, let your mouth fall open and look at it."

Nathan: That is good.

C. Grether: So this is the way; you really concentrate and kind of lose yourself in your painting, and pretty soon it begins to come out, whether you like it or whether you don't like it, or what you want to change or what you don't want to change.

Nathan: Do you work in watercolor, or mostly acrylic?

C. Grether: I have worked in watercolor and oils, and right now I'm working in acrylic. I found I was quite allergic to the oil, so I use only acrylic now, except in Montana. When I'm in Montana I use oils because the atmosphere is so dry that the acrylic dries up while you're using it, because it's water-based and dries very quickly.

Nathan: I see. Where is this group? Is it in Berkeley?

C. Grether: This one I'm in now is Marjorie Cathcart's workshop in El Cerrito.

Nathan: Are there any of your fellow artists who have a particular influence on you?

C. Grether: I don't think so.

Nathan: Whom do you admire particularly?

C. Grether: I admire so many, but they're quite different. I suppose that, as Marjorie Cathcart says, we all kind of borrow from each other, maybe without knowing it, and that happens sometimes with books. I have quite a good library of art books, and sometimes when I get stuck I'll just sit down and go through some of those books to see how somebody else solved a problem that I have. While you don't do it the same way, it may give you a sense of how to take off from where you are, and you do that when you look at other people's paintings, too, but I don't think of any one particular person.

Nathan: Is there any special style or school of painting that speaks to you especially?

C. Grether: Right now I kind of like abstract paintings. I don't know why.

Nathan: You don't have to have a reason.

C. Grether: No, no.

Nathan: If your mouth has fallen open and it's worked, that's good.

C. Grether: That's it, yes. It got so that in figurative painting, too, I abstracted very freely, so I think it kind of is native to me to want to abstract. I sometimes wonder if it's because I'm a little bit lazy, you know. [chuckles]

Nathan: Oh, maybe you're analytical.

C. Grether: Yes. We won't try to explain it.

Nathan: No. No one can explain talent.

Women's Lib the Second Time

Nathan: This is a vivid description of such an interesting life of activity. I wonder whether you would care to say anything about what may now be the second era of women's lib, of women trying to decide what is a good life--that is, the women now.

C. Grether: Well, I think I mentioned that this was a second go-around for me, that women's lib was very important when I was in college and I got a lot of ideas then. Much of what is going on now is a repetition of what happened then, which I think many people do not realize.

I should say that I believe in women's liberation. But it disturbs me that there is so much, I should say, almost prejudice involved against the woman who wants to be at home and take care of her family. The publicity is a little raucous, I think, against the woman who wants to be a homemaker. The feeling that there is such a thing as a career at home that is worth doing appears to be foreign in so much that's being said now, and I resent that. I think it's too bad. I think it will eventually right itself. I hope it will.

Our daughters (as you know, we have two daughters) have both stayed at home with their children; either one of them could have had a career, but they have stayed at home with their families. The other evening we had the grandson here. He is now a junior at the University of California. He got to speaking about his mother, what a wonderful person she is, and of the appreciation he as a person has because she chose to have her career at home. I just wish that more people could hear this kind of praise and appreciation from the young people now.

His roommate was here with him, and his mother has done the same thing. He had the same things to say about his mother. She now is having her career in art, and my own daughter is having her career in municipal politics, you see. They're both active, alert people with strong interests, and they both used this quality of concern and interest in their families, to take care of their families, and they appreciate that.

I have no quarrel with women if they want to go and have an outside career; it's all right with me. But I just would like them to understand that there is such a thing as a profitable, worthwhile career at home. Greth says I ought to write an article. [chuckles]

Nathan: Yes, indeed.

C. Grether: But I haven't. Maybe I shall do so.

Nathan: I would think so, and I would think, too, that drawing on your own experience is very eloquent.

C. Grether: Well, I think there are quite a lot of women who have done the same thing.

Nathan: At least, surely, to make the point that there are two very good choices; there's not just one good choice.

C. Grether: Yes. I was in the Lucky market a few months ago--last year, really--and just ahead of me in line was a young woman who was talking to the checker in very loud tones about how she was going to have her own life. She did not want to have any kids, she did not want this, and she did not want that, and especially she didn't want any kids. I just couldn't resist saying, "Isn't it nice your mother didn't feel that way." She kind of gasped, and said, "Yes, but she had no choice." I said, "She would be younger than I am, because you're a very young woman. I had a choice, so she had a choice."

Nathan: Exactly.

C. Grether: Yes. I shouldn't have said it, but I did.

Nathan: Well, as you were saying earlier, in your political discussions around the table, it wasn't a personal remark; it was a remark about an issue.

C. Grether: It was, indeed. I was disturbed by her raucous appraisal of the situation, so I was a little raucous, I guess.

Nathan: Very interesting.

Are there any other ideas you would like to talk about?

Views on the Draft

C. Grether: I just hope the world gets along and we find a way to keep peace in the world. I'm upset by the way things are developing, and especially I do not like the idea of the registration and the draft. I think it's a first step in the wrong direction, but we shall just have to wait to see.

Nathan: What would be a more constructive response to our present problems?

C. Grether: I would think that we could do with less threats. I don't know; I might be wrong. But I don't really like the way they're threatening to increase the armaments race. I heard Norman Cousins speak the other day, and he said one thing that I agree with: if we step up our armaments race, Russia will step up her armaments race, and all we will do will be to add to the capacity to kill each other, which we already have far beyond that which we need.

My feeling about the draft registration and the draft is that it strips people of their civil liberties. I think of the draft as a form of slavery, and I think we should be far beyond that. I think that if our country were in danger, people would rally. They have in the past, and I think they would again. I have no doubt about it.

I also think it's very easy for older men to sit in their comfortable places and vote young men into the battlefield, and I think this is basically unfair. So if we had a draft, I believe all the people who vote for it should go first, be drafted, beginning at whatever the age is--sixty, fifty, forty-five, whatever. Not the young people, because the young people then are helpless. They have no power, really, against this kind of thing, and I don't think it's right, because I think it's unfair.

Nathan: Would you think that we might also do more conservation of our energy resources so that we're not so dependent on oil, or is this not the problem?

C. Grether: I think we should be exploring, now that it pays, I understand. For instance, one man told us that under Montana alone there's just a tremendous amount of oil that they know about. The problem, I guess, is that it's deep.

Nathan: Yes.

C. Grether: But now, with everything being more expensive, I understand there are quite a lot of oil reserves that it would pay now to go after. Even if it doesn't pay, I think the government could well subsidize oil exploration with the money they're putting in on nuclear warheads.

Nathan: That's an interesting idea.

C. Grether: Yes. And I think it is too bad we are so dependent on the foreign oil. While it lasted, I think it was a good thing. It really opened up those countries to benefits that they would

never, maybe, have had without this opening up by the American and British and Dutch, or whoever did the opening up of the oil fields in those countries. I think that was a contribution that they've made, but now if they want us out, I think we should find a way out, and not say, "No this is ours; we're going to keep it."

Nathan: Very, very clear.

Cooperative Nursery Schools

Nathan: You had something to say, I think, relating to your son, David?

C. Grether: David was eleven years younger than the younger girl. We'd always talked about having another baby, and there was always something, you know, happening. We were going here or going there or something or other.

Nathan: Right.

C. Grether: So I finally said to Greth, "Well, I won't have a baby after I'm forty, so we'd better get busy and have this baby if we're going to," so I had David when I was thirty-nine. It was about the last minute.

Well, Greth came in on afternoon and said, "Gee, it's a shame we can't go to Philadelphia." I said, "What about it?" He said, "Well, I've been asked to come to Philadelphia for a year as a visiting professor, but we can't go." I said, "Why can't we go?" "Well," he said, "you're going to have a baby." I said, "Don't they have babies in Philadelphia?" [laughter]

So we went to Philadelphia, and David was born there. It took him quite a while to forgive us for that, because he wanted to be a native Californian. [laughter] Anyway, when we came back here, and he was a little boy, instead of having thirty-some-odd children around here, why, there were practically no children his age.

Nathan: The neighborhood changed?

C. Grether: The neighborhood had changed, because the same people, more or less, lived here and their children had grown older, so there were very few little children right here. I was always finding a

nursery school someplace for him to play in. Instead of getting a babysitter if I wanted to go downtown, I'd take him to a little nursery school so he could have children to play with, and then there was this little Community Nursery School over here near Oxford School.

Nathan: Oh, yes.

C. Grether: He was old enough to get in there, so I went over there with him at the beginning of the year and walked up to the school with the president of the little association that had this nursery school. She said, "You've come too late, because we're going to sell it." I said, "You're going to sell this school?" "Yes."

Nathan: The nursery school?

C. Grether: Yes, the little nursery school. I think they called it the Community Nursery School then. I don't know whether it's still there or not.

I said, "You're going to sell the school? You can't do that." "Oh, yes," she said, "we can." I said, "No, you cannot. This belongs to the community. It does not belong to you." "Yes," she said, "it belongs to us. It belongs to the people who are here now, and we can sell it, and we're going to."

I asked her why. Well, it was just too hard to operate it, and she had several reasons. I said, "Well, you can't do that. People have worked hard." I knew Katherine Taylor, and she said she had worked very hard to establish that, and a number of other people, too. I said, "You just can't do that. This belongs to the community, and you have to keep it going whether you like to or not."

So I went to the meeting and raised the objection, and two other women joined in raising the objection. One was Mrs. Arnold Liechti, and the other was Mrs. Howard Ellis.

Nathan: Oh, I remember them. Of course.

C. Grether: Yes. So between the three of us they postponed the idea of selling this place. They would have divided the proceeds among the women whose children were there. Well, really, the problem was, I guess, that it's a lot of work to run one of those things.

Nathan: Was it a cooperative?

C. Grether: It was a cooperative. It was a lot of work. They had a very nice little director, who was just fresh out of this child development school down here, and she had expensive ideas, you know, having come from there. She was very good, a very nice person, but they couldn't cope with the needs of the nursery school and so on, so they were just going to give it up.

So those of us who believed in it had to get busy, and we really worked around the clock almost, but we got everybody else to working, too.

Nathan: Did you bring in new people then?

C. Grether: We brought in new people. We got more publicity and brought in more people, and worked harder and got the people who were there working harder, too.

It lasted all the time we were there and well into the future, and whether it's still there or not, I don't know. Anyway, we kept that going.

Nathan: Now, would this be in the '40s?

C. Grether: Well, let's see. David was born in '39, and he would have been from three to five years old, right in there.

Nathan: I see.

C. Grether: And it was very flourishing.

The girls had gone to a little school that Mrs. [J.S.P.] Tatlock had. Do you remember the Tatlocks? He was chairman of the English Department.

Nathan: The name is familiar.

C. Grether: She had a little progressive school in her back yard, and I had cooperated then with that little school, so I had some idea of how to cooperate with a school. It's just a lot of work, but it's fun and it's worth doing. So that was the only other big cooperative thing that I ventured in.

Nathan: Well, once again, your determination was an important part of this.

C. Grether: I felt very sorry for the little president the second year David was there. She was just a darling person, and she had no

experience at all in parliamentary rule or anything like that, but she, too, felt that it was important to sell this school. I felt sorry for her because I heckled her during every meeting. Every time she brought it up, I would bring up some opposing idea, and she couldn't cope with me. I really felt sorry for her, and I felt mean about doing it [chuckles], but I was determined they wouldn't close that little nursery school down just because it was difficult to operate. So it kept going.

Nathan: Did you find that you had to work on it virtually every day? Was it that kind of a commitment?

C. Grether: Oh, yes. It was that kind of a commitment. I had the job of getting volunteers there.

Nathan: This is difficult.

C. Grether: It's a hard job.

Nathan: So you had to staff it with volunteers?

C. Grether: With volunteers, yes, and I kept that job. There was another woman by the name of Alice Bliss, whose husband was in the ROTC, and she and I together really kept that thing staffed. She was a hard worker, too. She believe in it, too; I did, too.

It was good experience for me, because then when I was in charge of the University YWCA lunch counter, I had learned how to keep volunteers coming [chuckles], from this earlier experience. While I was in charge of the lunch counter at the YWCA, I took a course in restaurant management with the University Extension. I learned a lot there, too. Now when Greth complains about the Faculty Club, I just keep saying, "There's no excuse for that. I know what they ought to be doing." Of course, I probably don't, but you learn a lot when you're doing these things, you know.

Nathan: Each thing that you went into, you really developed some expertise in that area.

C. Grether: Yes. You have to, if you're going to do it and do it right, and there's no point in taking on a volunteer job unless you really commit yourself to it.

Nathan: Thank you. This has really been a fascinating account.

C. Grether: Well, thank you. It's been a pleasure to talk with you.





Ewald and Carrie Grether photographed at St. John's Presbyterian Church, Berkeley, 1993.

XXXIV UPDATING MONTANA RANCHING AND WATER RIGHTS (1985)

[Interview 3: October 18, 1985]##

Nathan: Did you go to your Montana ranch during this past summer?

C. Grether: Yes, we were there the usual time, from the end of June or the beginning of July. This time we came home a little early; normally we stay until the day after Labor Day, but we came home a couple of weeks early. The weather was very bad all the time we were there.

Nathan: Was it raining?

C. Grether: When we left. But the month of July was the hottest, driest month in Montana of all history, which meant that it was very uncomfortable to begin with, sapped your energy, because it was too hot and too dry. Of course there's altitude, which we're not used to. We just didn't have the energy to do anything except the minimal during the month of July. Then, contrary to usual happenings, August turned out to be very cold and rainy. Of course, that was good for the country, because they needed the rain and the change of weather, but it was still uncomfortable for us; so we came home a couple of weeks early. It snowed, I guess, just immediately after we left. I don't think we had anything to do with that, but everybody was reporting snow then.

Nathan: The snowpack is significant for the water supply?

C. Grether: It's very important; yes, it is. There was very little snowpack last winter, a year ago. But, yes it is. So they're glad to see it; but nevertheless it was a short stay for us.

Nathan: What is the altitude?

C. Grether: We are at around 3,800, I think. Maybe not quite that much. I'm always a little vague about altitude because you go up and down.

Nathan: Is that Seeley Lake?

C. Grether: It's Seeley Lake country. That's our post office address, but our place is on a little lake called Placid Lake. There's a picture of it over there.

Nathan: That looks like a big snowpack, doesn't it?

C. Grether: Yes. That was another year.

Nathan: I can see lots of timber. It looks beautiful.

C. Grether: It's right in the woods, right on the edge of the lake. It's a nice place to spend your summer.

Nathan: Oh, absolutely.

Hearings, Hearings

Nathan: Were you still working on your water rights questions that you started five years ago?

C. Grether: Yes, we had another--I guess you call it a hearing, again.

Nathan: Was this a state committee?

C. Grether: State committee, yes. It was on the same problem that we had the hearing about before. The administrative judge before dropped this project, and all his hearing projects, and took off to do something else, so there was a long time with no decision. Finally the state hired him back on a contract basis to make decisions on all these hearings that he had had, and he found for us in the judgment. But in making out the little notice that was published in the local paper, the person who made it out left out some little thing, such as the section of the section, or something of that sort; he gave the acreage in the general place. According to the administrator of the project, still another person, it would have to be republished. The objectors then would have a chance to have an oral argument based altogether on

the evidence that was presented at the first one. But still we had to go through that again.

That happened this July, early July. The state administrator and a committee of state lawyers and other officers were there, and we had the hearing. The man who made the objection before repeated his objection.

Nathan: Was this the same judge?

C. Grether: No, this was somebody else. This was the administrator of the whole water project who came this time. We had the hearing. It seemed to go very well, as far as we could tell, and I asked him at the end if we would have a judgment on it quite soon. He said, "I hope so, but we are now taking the plane to go to a tri-state water convention. We have already had five or six hearings in this very same valley, and we are just having hearings all over." He didn't know, and we have never heard yet. So we guess he's still at a hearing; we don't know. They're very slow.

Nathan: When you said that the first judge found for you, was it in the nature of a court case?

C. Grether: Yes, in a sense it was. But it was not a court, except that it was carried out in more or less the same way. You had a presentation of each side and interrogation by the administrator of the hearing. There was a recording, just as you're recording here. That was not all repeated the second time, fortunately. The man who made the objection started to talk about something else, and he was told, "No, you cannot do that. You're talking only about the objection that you made the first time."

Permission to Move Water

Nathan: To what was he objecting?

C. Grether: The state now requires not only that you have a water right filed, but that if you want to move it anywhere from where you're using it now to where you want to use it tomorrow or the next day, you have to get permission from the state agency. Well, we did not know that. I guess our tenant must not have known it. We moved the water which was being used on a field to a more fertile field, which was just 200 feet higher in the hill. That was it. We knew nothing about it until I received a letter

saying I had committed a misdemeanor. So what was this misdemeanor? We moved the water without permission. I call that being a little extreme, but that's the way it is.

Nathan: It's still your own property?

C. Grether: All our own property, our own water right, purchased by my father. Now they don't recognize purchase as a way to get water. I believe that's right.

Nathan: Do they recognize purchase of the right to use, but not purchase of the water itself?

C. Grether: That may be; I don't know. At the time my father acquired it, it was acceptable to purchase the water right and use the water as you wished to use it on your property, so he used it wherever he wanted to use it. In fact, some of the water rights he bought were not for the land that he had; they were for other land, but he just transferred it to his land.

This was in exchange for giving up all water rights that he might have had in what was known then as the Big Ditch. It was a big development, bringing the water to the various parts of the valley. Now you have to get permission to do any change or anything of that sort.

Out-of-State Users

Nathan: What is the purpose of this sort of control or restriction, do you think?

C. Grether: I don't know exactly, except that I would judge there was an effort on the part of out-of-state users to get Montana water. I'm sure that that happened, and I think that was one of the reasons for this new water law, but I'm not really sure. We weren't there and, as a matter of fact, didn't realize they had done this in their new Constitution until this happened to us.

Somebody told me there was a lecturer there who made a strong play for the Montana people to give up their water because there are so few people in Montana. In Los Angeles, for instance, there are so many, and they need water, and water should be where the people are. He seemed to convince some

people that, really, it would be the better thing to do. Montana is a semi-arid state; it doesn't have very much water.

Nathan: This is reminiscent, isn't it, of some of the arguments for the original California water plan in respect to northern and southern California?

C. Grether: This is correct. It happened in California. Greth, you may know, had worked on this plan down south--what do they call it?

Nathan: It wasn't the Central Valley?

C. Grether: I think he worked on that, too. There was the one where they bought up the ranches in a little valley, and then turned all those off and took the water down to Los Angeles. Made a little desert up there.

Nathan: Yes, that was the Owens Valley.

C. Grether: This was kind of in the air, and I believe, then, this was the new law. It had the purpose of checking that. I have also heard that Kansas wanted the water. Some of the area in the more western to mid-western states were trying to find extra water.

Nathan: Was this state Constitution change recent? I read something about a constitutional change in 1972.

C. Grether: I can't give you the dates. It was, I think, before that, but I'm not sure about when it was.

Nathan: Just to go back a moment to the hearing: were you protesting the misdemeanor charge, or was the issue different?

C. Grether: Well, the issue was where could we use the water? We were asking permission now to use this water where we wanted to use it; and explaining why we wanted to use it there; and presenting our reasons. That was the reason we were having the hearing.

Water During the Flood Season

Nathan: On what grounds did the protester object?

C. Grether: He said that because we had moved this water up the hill, he cannot get any water at his place during the summertime. His

place is about three miles down the creek. In the summertime the water doesn't get all the way through. Anyway, it goes down; the soil there is very porous. As the water drops, it goes into the ground. But, of course, mostly it doesn't get past our place anyway, because we have more water right than water comes. They use all of it on the ranch. There's one other person who can get some, but that's it.

The man who is protesting has a water right during the flood period, when so much goes down the creek that some does go past his place. When he first applied, I wrote an objection to his application. Then the man from the central agency called me and said that under no circumstances could his application interfere with our water right; all he wanted was water during the flood season. So I wrote another letter and withdrew my objection. But now he's objecting, or he was, because he didn't get it during the whole season.

An interesting thing happened after this hearing. He and his wife came. They sat off by themselves. Then as the hearing was over, they just got up and started to leave. They were closer to the door than we were, but I kind of hurried up and stepped after them and called her by name. She turned, and they both stopped. I said, "You know, I'd like to know you under different circumstances. I believe we could be friends." She was very pleasant and agreeable and thought, yes, that would be nice, you know, but he was sort of glum. He stood there.

Greth came along then, just behind me, and he said to them, "Why don't you get your water out of the river?" They live right over the top of the river. They said, "Because somebody owns a strip of land between us and the river, and they will not give us the right of way for a pipe." So they're really caught. You can't help but feel sorry for them. They don't get water from either direction. We tried to find out, or I did, who owned that strip of land. Nobody that we knew seemed to know, but somebody said it belonged to someone who felt that the river water should not be used for irrigation, especially like this summer; the rivers were drying up and the fish were endangered. It's great wildlife country up there. People are very devoted to their wildlife and don't want anything to go wrong with it. Someone thought this belonged to someone who was protecting the river from irrigation. I don't know if that's true, but it sounds reasonable.

Nathan: So in addition to care for the wildlife, I suppose the recreational values are being considered as well?

C. Grether: Undoubtedly, yes.

Nathan: Do you have the sense that the state is asserting all the decision on water partly in order that the federal government will not make claims?

C. Grether: I don't know. I haven't heard anything at all about that, so I just don't know. One case that we know about was apparently carried past all the appeals in the state bureaucracy into the State Supreme Court. So it can get into the courts, but it's difficult, apparently.

Nathan: So you're dealing with administrative hearings.

C. Grether: That's right.

Nathan: Is there any political pressure that the local people can bring on these administrative courts? Would your legislators be in a position to speak for you?

C. Grether: I don't know. I think this is written into the Constitution, and just what that would involve, I don't know.

Wood Products and Timber

Nathan: Is there an interest in bringing industry into your area?

C. Grether: There isn't much industry. It's a wood products industry around there. The sawmills are there, and there's one furniture manufacturer--a small company--that I know of. And there's a cheese factory. But there is very little industry, and I don't see the possibility now, anyway, of its coming in.

Let me go back. They have logs; people build houses out of the logs. While we were there we heard that there's a big interest in Japan in having these logs to build houses there. That will step up that part of the wood products industry quite a bit, they thought. There was a good deal of excitement about it.

Nathan: Log cabins in Japan?

C. Grether: In Japan. They said that someone had gone in there and demonstrated it, and they had already had quite a bit of response.

Nathan: Are these pre-cut, so that you assemble the logs to build the house?

C. Grether: Yes. The logs are stripped of their bark and they're polished. They're very pretty, and a good many people there build their own houses with these logs. I just thought that was an interesting sidelight on industry.

Now, you have another question?

Nathan: I wondered whether the timber industry was depressed in Montana.

C. Grether: It is somewhat, yes, although the mills seem to be opening up again. For a while the mills were closed down, most of them, but now they're opening up. However, we heard that one big mill had closed in one of the smaller towns in the valley. People are logging again. The prices are not as good as they were, but the housing industry is starting up a bit. That encourages them, of course.

Nathan: I wondered whether people combined some ranching and some work in the mills to keep going.

C. Grether: Not that I know of. Mostly they either ranch or they're loggers or mill workers. There could be combinations, but I don't know of any.

Nathan: What is your sense of how the ranchers are going to fare with this new system of water permissions?

C. Grether: I think that as people get used to it and understand it, it will work pretty well. I don't know in general too much about it, but it seems to be working. It works all right for us, now that we've got it straightened out, more or less.

Discovering History

Nathan: You said earlier that you had to get a certain number of legal papers together by 1982.

C. Grether: Yes, that was for filing. We learned that we had to file, re-file, really, for all the water rights. They have all been filed on at one time. We now, under this new law, had to file all over again, so that meant going through all the legal papers. We had to enter the dates when the original filing was made, for what property, who did it, the whole story.

Nathan: Did you have those papers in your possession, or did you have to go to the state archives?

C. Grether: Fortunately we had most of them in our possession. My father was a great one to have everything completely legal and all of the evidence in. So he had abstracts on every piece of property he ever owned. We have the abstracts from the part of the property that we inherited, and they're very interesting. They are a history of that piece of land. They tell a very interesting story. You take a community, put the abstracts all together, and you can see what happened in that community, the ups and the downs. It's a very interesting project to go through those abstracts. It takes a lot of time.

Nathan: Yes. It would almost be worth writing them up.

C. Grether: Well, I was tempted as I did it to write a little history of this area. One could easily do a good job, I think.

Nathan: Had any of it been Indian land? Was any of it Blackfeet land?

C. Grether: The Indians in there were the Salish, or Flathead as they're known. Yes, that whole area at one time had been an Indian reservation. Then, as happens over and over again, they were moved off and it was opened up for homesteading.

Credit and the Cattle Business

Nathan: Did your father homestead?

C. Grether: No, he bought his place, but he had two sisters who homesteaded, and I think a brother, too, who homesteaded. He didn't intend to stay when he first came out. I think I mentioned earlier that he planned to go back to go to college. He came out after he finished what was called the academy then, which we now call high school, and planned to work for two or three years and then save his money and go back and go to college. His mother tried to

keep him from coming. Then, instead of going back to college, he decided to get married, fortunately for me. He was doing day work on ranches, which was the only kind of work there was at that time. He was working for a man who wanted to sell his place. The man had a buyer prospect who didn't want to pay the price. The buyer prospect kept talking this rancher down to a lower price, lower and lower, and the poor man, who was eager to sell his place, was getting kind of desperate, because he had gone down just as low as he felt he should. My father was watching this, and he decided that this had gone far enough. He came over and offered to buy it at that price. The other buyer said he wanted it still lower. The rancher sold it to my father; that's where he got his first ranch.

Nathan: He obviously didn't have a lot of money at that time?

C. Grether: No, but he had enough to make a satisfactory down payment, and he was able to borrow from the bank. The story of his borrowing from the bank is really quite remarkable. He went to a bank, perhaps partly for this ranch, and he wanted to buy some cattle. He got a loan for \$25,000. He was then, what, maybe 21, not more. So he bought the ranch and bought some cattle and bought some more cattle. The second batch of cattle he bought, apparently he made a mistake and wrote the check for payment on a wrong bank. When he made this discovery, he hurried to the bank, and the banker gave him another \$25,000 credit.

Recently Greth was reading some history. He said, "Now I understand how your father got all that credit." The whole country was awash with English money, in here to make money on the new cattle business, and the bankers were eager to get it out at interest. So here was this young fellow just starting out with all this credit, \$50,000 worth of credit.

Nathan: And \$50,000 then was an awful lot of money.

C. Grether: That was a lot of money. He just started out with a bang and kept going. [chuckles] He probably wasn't the only one who had that happen, but it did happen to him.

Nathan: It's interesting about the English money.

C. Grether: I had heard that before, but I never made that particular association with my father's good luck. Greth was reading, and he said, "Well, that accounts for your father's big credit rating right then." They were looking for people to spend that money, use it and pay the interest. So I guess that probably was it.

Nathan: As you were growing up, were you aware of whether money was needed?

C. Grether: Oh, indeed. The system was to borrow money all year. Ranchers would sell cattle, crops, whatever; get all their money in. Then they would pay all their debts. We paid debts once a year; that included department stores, everything. After the big money came in in the fall, they paid all their debts. Before that, we were really poor.

Nathan: Then you borrowed again?

C. Grether: Borrowed again, yes. This is one of the problems with farmers now. They still have that pattern of borrowing during the seeding time and the harvest time; then when the crops are sold, they can pay their debts off. If anything happens, if the price drops as it has this year, or if there is a crop failure, then they're in trouble. They've got to do something about those debts.

Nathan: They still have to pay interest, I guess, when they can't pay it off?

C. Grether: Oh, yes. The interest runs as long as the debt is there. I used to laugh and say that all the ranchers I knew were either packing up to go to the courthouse, or getting ready to squander their income.

Nathan: It's almost a gambler's life.

C. Grether: It is, in a way. The weather, the economic conditions, etc. During the deep Depression, for instance, the ranchers weren't getting enough to pay their taxes, and in some places they were selling their ranches for taxes. Where we are, I believe the taxes were forgiven for one year. I know my brother complained because he said he scraped together everything he could and sold things for nothing so he could pay taxes, which he did, and the next week the taxes were forgiven. He always felt sort of unlucky on that score.

Nathan: It doesn't seem quite fair.

Knapp Weed

Nathan: I think in our earlier sessions you had mentioned that the ranch grows mostly feed for cattle. Did I get that right?

C. Grether: Hay and grain.

Nathan: Is that still the pattern?

C. Grether: I think that's still the pattern. The rancher raises barley and alfalfa and wheat. I believe he tries to sell the wheat, and sometimes hay, but oftentimes he has to buy hay; so it all depends, partly on the season and on the quality of the range. Right now the range land in that area is in bad shape because there's a weed that has taken over the whole country--Knapp weed. It's very pretty; looks a little like a wild bachelor button, but it's stiff and hard. The cattle will eat it when it's young, but as the season goes on it gets stiff.

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Nathan: You were saying that the Knapp weed isn't really edible when it gets stiff later in the season.

C. Grether: It gets stiff, right. This year they are trying a spray. So far they haven't found anything to control it. The son of my nephew has been working, trying to find a natural enemy. So far they have not been able to do that. Spraying is bad; it doesn't work very well, and it's very expensive.

Nathan: Is it harmful if the cattle eat it by mistake?

C. Grether: No, but the cattle won't eat it. Horses will eat it. Horses, I guess, will eat almost anything. The sheep will eat it when it's small, and cattle will eat it when it's small, but as it goes into the season and gets mature, they just won't eat it.

Nathan: This crowds out the other plants?

C. Grether: Takes over everything. It's very dense. It's a real problem in that whole area, and I guess all over the state.

Nathan: Is there a department in the University of Montana that's trying to deal with it?

C. Grether: Well, the Bozeman area, which is the state university, is doing a good deal of work on this, I understand. This grand-nephew of mine studied there, graduated from that school, and he's been very much interested in it. I think they've been working at control over there in Bozeman, which, by the way, is a very good university.

Nathan: Yes. There are a lot of their publications.

Power Lines in the Valley

Nathan: You had mentioned earlier that there was a community group getting together to try to protect the interests of local people and their water. Was that earlier?

C. Grether: That was when the power company was putting their lines through to the people's ranches and homes.

Nathan: What has happened with that?

C. Grether: That has broken up. The need is gone. The power lines are in; there's nothing more anyone can do. I think the whole thing has just sort of collapsed. That was my inclination.

Nathan: You mentioned earlier that the original Montana Constitution was essentially drafted by the mining and the power people.

C. Grether: So the historians tell us. Howard Tool--not Howard; the Tools are a big family. The Tool who was the historian wrote that in his history of Montana, I remember.

Nathan: You had said that at one time they had eminent domain, these private industries.

C. Grether: I think they still do, because we couldn't keep them out. If they wanted to come, the question was where, how, and what damages they would pay, because they do damage your property.

Nathan: So power isn't a live issue any more?

C. Grether: No, that's right; they're there now.

Nathan: Who is going to use this power?

C. Grether: Well, that is the question; I'm not just sure how it's been answered. The problem was partly that they were going to transfer this power beyond the valley, so there's just a way through. I don't know just where it has gone.

Nathan: It isn't really for local use?

C. Grether: It's not for local use; we get the local use through a different set of power lines.

More on Housing Development and Subdivisions

Nathan: Is there a certain amount of housing development in the area now?

C. Grether: There's quite a bit. It's unfortunate what's happening. The whole valley, more or less, has been subdivided, and the subdividers are putting up houses, most of which I would call substandard, in their general appearance, anyway. Some of them are quite adequate. It has really spoiled the valley in many ways. It's a beautiful area. It's now dotted with these little houses that they've put up that look like ready-mades, many of them. So, yes, there's quite a housing development. A good many people are coming in there because they would rather be out in the country, I guess, than in the towns. The towns are small, but even so--

Nathan: Is there enough water to supply that kind of domestic use?

C. Grether: I think it's a question. They so far have been getting water from the wells for the most part, as far as I know, but it's kind of a question nobody has the whole answer to, I think. One of the subdividers is my brother-in-law. After my sister died he sold his place to a subdivider, a developer. It's interesting that people like to go up in the mountains to build their homes. Sometimes they're beautiful homes up here, because somebody is really trying to get away from civilization. Up on the top of the mountain, right in back of his place, they found an artesian well. Some people say the valley is over an old lake bed and there's water down there. Nobody really knows, as far as I know.

Sometimes people go very far down to get water. Other times they get it pretty close to the top. The ground water information, I believe, is not very adequate.

- Nathan: I wondered what would happen to the water table as more use is made of wells?
- C. Grether: I don't think anybody really knows.
- Nathan: Is there any overall land use planning in the county or the state that would govern subdivision in this style?
- C. Grether: I don't believe so. Everybody has to go before the county commissioners to make certain changes. The subdivisions have to be registered once they have been plotted. But so far as I know there's no law that says you may or may not. I know Greth, a number of years ago, went to the commissioners and offered to help them plan, because he said he could see the same mistakes coming up as came up in California. They were not interested. They thought it would be all right. I think it's the same way now, as far as we can tell. I could be wrong about that.
- Nathan: That's interesting, isn't it?
- C. Grether: Well, yes and no. You know that if a developer comes along with a big fat purse, it's a great temptation; it's the best money you could get for your land. So usually the people who are landowners have a good deal to say about what goes on, if they use their influence. Sometimes they're even on the commission; I think that's what has happened.
- It's very amusing to us. We are now the second largest landowner in the county because we have refused to sell any of our land for subdivisions.
- Nathan: How large is your ranch?
- C. Grether: Greth has bought some to keep some subdividers out. It's about 5,600 acres, which is not a big ranch, really.
- Nathan: As ranches go--
- C. Grether: As ranches go, it's not; it was never considered a big ranch. Just a ranch.
- Nathan: I think you mentioned green belting when we talked earlier. Were you able to maintain that?
- C. Grether: Yes, it's still green belted.
- Nathan: So you can't be taxed at municipal levels?

C. Grether: No. Even though part of our land is a part of an old subdivision. Now, what has happened is that the state legislature, I guess, lobbied by real estate people, has restored all the subdivision plats that have ever been registered, which means that part of our land is subject to rules for subdivision and subject to demands made on subdividers. But we'll keep it as a ranch.

Nathan: This would only happen if you sold to subdividers. It doesn't apply if you're not developing?

C. Grether: We hope not. It's something we just really don't know.

Nathan: Isn't that curious how, you know, the water rights have to be totally reestablished, but the plats are still alive.

C. Grether: We have the deed; we have that right. We have the right to own, to farm it. But suppose somebody made some kind of demand peculiar to your subdivisions? We don't know. It hasn't happened; we hope it doesn't, but there's that little uneasiness there.

Nathan: Do you have the sense that the federal government has taken any sort of leading role in either development or water rights questions in the state?

C. Grether: No, I don't have that feeling.

Role of the Forest Service

Nathan: No intergovernmental relationship?

C. Grether: Not that I know of. With respect to wilderness, yes. Of course, the Forest Service owns a good deal of land, and they are very important.

Nathan: The Forest Service can permit certain kinds of use?

C. Grether: Yes, they do. That's very important--grazing permit, that sort of use, and they also sell timber out there. They've logged off part of their timber. They're relatively helpful. For instance, the Forest Service has to go through our place to get to the forest land, and they have helped keep up the road through there.

That's been a benefit to us, and they're very helpful; so far we've had good relations with them.

Nathan: Do you feel that you're dealing with a lot of different governmental agencies? Or is it just one, primarily, the administrative water tribunal?

C. Grether: Primarily that's it.

Nathan: Is there any local district or any local agency that you deal with? A local water district or something of that nature?

C. Grether: Not a local water district, but you have the county commissioners. They're important when it comes to roads and permission to do certain things with your highways, or changing things.

Status of the Mine

Nathan: We had earlier mentioned a little about the mine.

C. Grether: It's still there. I mentioned this before. Of course, we have all kinds of "No Trespassing" signs and a fence around it--everything that's there to try to keep people out. But there's some fascination about old mines, apparently. A couple of years ago two teenagers went in. They were learning to do rapelling down over the cliff that went in. One of them had a rope break and he couldn't get out, and this created a very serious problem. When two young fellows didn't come home when they were supposed to, of course the mother became anxious. They got a search crew out, and they found these two young fellows. I think the mother knew they were going to the mine. The one who had fallen in was in rather serious condition because it was cold down there and he was getting hypothermia. They rescued them. Then the mine examiner--the state mine examiner--had to come, and that took a while. He said because of all the precautions we had taken, there was no recourse against us. Of course, we were frightened about this. He said they had no right to go in there; they were old enough to know, and they could not have any recourse against the owner. It was a frightening experience for everybody. People who want to go in will tear down the "No Trespassing" signs.

- Nathan: Is there thought of activating the mine again? Or does the price of silver have to get to a certain level?
- C. Grether: We don't know. We don't know anything about mining. There is something in the mine that might be useful sometime. It's called "rare earth." There are samples from that mine in the Smithsonian Institution and in the McGill Museum in Canada; it's labeled as from that mine. My father had a letter from the previous owner--or maybe he was a mining engineer; I don't know which--that said there was something in that mine that, so far as he knew, was only in the Ural Mountains elsewhere. Somebody made a survey or a study of the mine, saying that there's a bonanza in there for somebody, someday. We don't know what it is, nor are we really interested in developing it unless it can be done safely and carefully. The Homestake people made a survey and thought there wasn't enough gold in there to justify their going in there.
- Nathan: Interesting. Do people approach you sometimes?
- C. Grether: They haven't recently, but there was a time when we had quite a few people wanting to come in there. The whole area has gold in it; we do know that. It was assayed early, and the gold is in the soil. It would mean hydraulic mining, and of course nobody wants to do that. I'm not sure there's enough water there to begin with, but if there were, we wouldn't want to do that. We don't want to do that; my father didn't want to do that. Gold is only worth so much, after all. We have a beautiful place, a beautiful ranch. It produces food, and it is a home for people. You know? We like that better.
- Nathan: Right. Is there coal in your area?
- C. Grether: No, no coal there. It's in the eastern part of the state.
- Nathan: I wondered about the strip mining of coal, whether that is an issue in the state as far as you know.
- C. Grether: It may be, over in the part of the state where coal is close to the surface. But we have no experience with that where we are. There is apparently oil way down. We're part of the so-called overthrust, and all of that land around there, so far as I know, is under lease to oil companies. Ours is.

Exploration Leases

- Nathan: There's a separate lease for whatever is under the ground?
- C. Grether: Yes. But it would be very costly to get it, because it's very deep. One of the oil men told me there's enough oil under Montana to take care of all of the needs for quite a long while.
- Nathan: You don't want to throw away the State of Montana to get it.
- C. Grether: No, and they don't want to pay to go down there, either. It's cheaper to go out here on the coastline.
- Nathan: That's very interesting. As you talk about the different issues in Montana, it may be an underpopulated state, but it's got--
- C. Grether: It has wealth there. My father leased that area to a coal and oil company years ago. He thought they were going to drill for oil. Well, of course, they didn't. He never heard from them again. They just had the lease, and that was it for a certain number of years. When they came to us to ask, they were offering 50 cents an acre.
- Nathan: What would that mean?
- C. Grether: They would have the right to drill on the land that they leased, and nobody else would have the right to go in there. So I cited this instance to the man who was talking to us. I said that it seemed to me that to tie up your land for 50 cents an acre for ten years was kind of unreasonable, and I didn't do it. However, a great many people did. Then they came back and offered a dollar an acre, and I still said no. Well, it went on like that, then, for two or three years. We got a phone call down here in Berkeley from somebody who was up there who had been going through the records, and he wanted to lease our place for \$2 an acre. I figured, \$10,000 or so, and we decided, why not?
- Nathan: Was this an area where something was growing?
- C. Grether: Oh, yes; it was the whole ranch. The timber land, the grazing land, the whole bit. So we leased it to him and signed the lease and got the down payment, the \$10,000 or whatever it was; or they banked it, I guess. We hadn't been up there two days before we were offered \$5 an acre. I've always said that was our biggest financial mistake.

Nathan: You have to be a real riverboat gambler.

C. Grether: Well, we couldn't do anything about it. When I talked to the man, I said, "The way this lease is written, you can get out of it anytime you want to, but we can't. Is that right?" He said, "That's the way it's written."

Nathan: When you lease this land, does that mean you can still use it as you wish, unless they come in?

C. Grether: Yes, that's right. It's yours to use, but theirs to use if they want to put in a drilling outfit.

Nathan: So it could go in the middle of a field where you're growing barley, or--

C. Grether: That's right. Or in the barnyard, I suppose. It's happened other places, but nobody expects them to drill there because of the coast. And nobody--well, I shouldn't say nobody; I don't quite understand why they want to buy up all these leases, except that there was a scarcity of oil for a while. It could be that that prompted all of this activity. It's quite interesting, I think.

Nathan: It may be to keep it out of the hands of somebody else?

C. Grether: They tell us that what they do is to sell these leases, then, to other oil companies. We become kind of a corporate property. But I don't know.

Water Rights and Beneficial Use

Nathan: Thinking of selling leases and rights (so I'm sure I understand this), when your father bought the water rights, could he then sell those rights to somebody else?

C. Grether: Yes, if he wanted to. It's an exchange business, then.

Nathan: You have water rights; could you sell your water rights, if you decided to?

C. Grether: It has to go through the bureau now. You have to get permission.

Nathan: Which bureau is that? Is that a state bureau?

- C. Grether: That's the State Conservation and Resources Bureau. Everything, all water deals, have to be worked out through them. You have to get permission.
- Nathan: If you are entitled to a certain amount of water, and if you don't use it one year, do you lose that right?
- C. Grether: Yes, you do. You have to make beneficial use. That rule has always existed. If you don't make beneficial use of your water right, somebody else can claim it.
- Nathan: I see. Suppose for one year you didn't need quite all the water, but you would need it the next year? It has to be year-by-year that you use all of it?
- C. Grether: You use it all the time. That's very important. You plant crops that need it; or if you have cattle or stock, that's a very important water right. And domestic use also.

Water Economy, Pot-hole, and Pipes

- Nathan: Suppose you have found a way of irrigation that uses much less water? There is really no benefit to you in being economical with water, because then you lose the right for the water you don't use?
- C. Grether: Oh, on the contrary. One of the reasons our ranch is successful is that soon after we got it Greth developed a system of irrigation that used much less water per acre. That's a sprinkler system. This means that we can cultivate a great deal more of the land than we could previously. The soil there is gravelly loam, they call it. The water goes down very soon after we turn it on.

Under the flood irrigation plan, only a small portion of the land could be irrigated because the water disappeared. Now you can pipe the water or take it by ditch to the area that you want, pipe it out in the sprinkler system, and sprinkle a great deal more. So we have developed what is known as our pot-hole. Water is taken by ditch from the creek to the pot-hole, over a considerable distance. From the pot-hole, pipes are put in, using gravity flow in this case, over a large area that was never cultivated before.

Nathan: You use that water to bring more area under cultivation?

C. Grether: More area into cultivation, yes, so it becomes an asset. It calls for capital investment, which you didn't need before. However, when they had flood irrigation before, it required somebody working with it all the time. This cuts down on labor. They do have to change the pipes, but the water pipes take care of irrigation all the time, during the day and night.

Nathan: You don't have to have somebody opening and closing valves and doing things like that?

C. Grether: No. You have to keep the heads of the sprinklers open and in repair, and that's a job; and the pipes have to be changed once a day.

Nathan: Physically moved?

C. Grether: Moved from one spot to another, so that the irrigation takes place all over the field. Usually the high school kids do that. That gives them a chance to earn some money, because it's not a hard job. It's just moving a pipe from one spot to another, putting it in.

Using the Whole Water

Nathan: Hypothetically, I suppose, if you had under irrigation as much land as you wanted to work, and found a way to save water, you would not benefit because you would lose your rights to that extra water. So it would only be what you can use?

C. Grether: Only what you can use. But believe me, you learn how to use it. You plan to use it, because water rights are very valuable, and once you lose it, it's gone. That is part of our plan. If our tenant does not have enough planting in to use the water, he is expected, and wants, to put enough planting, enough crops to take the use of the whole water. As it is, he has more crop now than he has water, especially in a year like this. They also plant expecting rain as part of the watering process. When it doesn't come, as it did not this year, then some of the crops will fail.

Nathan: That's interesting. The thinking starts with the water, and then how you allocate?

C. Grether: Well, the water and the land are closely related, very. If you want land, then you think, "Where is the water?" Or do you plan on drylanding it? There's quite a lot of drylanding, without water rights.

Nathan: What would drylanding work for?

C. Grether: You can raise wheat; a lot of wheat is raised on dry land. We have on our place a dry land alfalfa field which does pretty well if the rains come as per schedule. So quite a lot can be done with just dry land. In some parts of Montana, that's all they have.

Nathan: There is something about holding water in connection with other states--Hungry Horse Reservoir at the Columbia Basin Interagency Commission; are you involved in any of these?

C. Grether: No, we're not. They're considerably out of our territory.

Improvements and Maintenance##

Nathan: You were talking about drylanding certain crops. If there should be another improvement in water use technology so that you would have more water, would you move into the use of water on that dryland area?

C. Grether: I don't know. I just don't know. It would depend, I suppose, upon the nature of the improvement. There was some discussion some years back about a change in the kind of sprinklers. Instead of overhead sprinkling, where there is a good deal of loss of water from evaporation, they were using sprinklers down close to the ground, near the roots. Then later I read that that was bad for the soil for some reason. I haven't heard anything about it lately, so I don't know whether they're still working at that concept or not.

Nathan: I had heard about drip irrigation. I don't know if that's appropriate.

C. Grether: I think that's what I was speaking about, drip irrigation. But there is some problem, so I have read, about salinity with that. So I don't know. It would need to be pretty clear that it would be a great improvement, because probably it would cost quite a

bit. All those changes cost quite a bit. For instance, this year we have to renew some of the old original pipes.

Nathan: Pipes wear out?

C. Grether: They wear out. The pipe that was in was a steel pipe, and they rust. This year one of them broke and its water spouted out, so the farmer was wondering whether to get plastic or aluminum--some other material. He thought plastic would be more durable; we shall see. He was going to get some advice on that. As far as I know he hasn't touched any of them. Now, that will be a pretty costly business. So you have to keep in mind what your net gain would be, I think.

Nathan: Somebody must have to keep elaborate books on what the costs of water and maintenance and all of the other expenses are, so that you have some notion of how you are doing when you sell your crops.

C. Grether: Oh, we don't sell the crops; the crop belongs to the tenants. We don't own anything on the ranch. We own the ranch. We own the sprinkler system.

Nathan: You provide the capital improvements?

C. Grether: That is right. Quite often we provide the materials and he provides the labor. That way we even it out. But it's possible to own the crops and the cattle and whatever is on there. Then you have the problem of dividing the net results. That's a big headache. We don't want to be bothered, and neither does the tenant.

Nathan: Does sharecropping, if that's the right word, have a bad name?

C. Grether: That is the right word. It's just something you don't want to get bothered with. It is done a great deal. My father used to tell me not to lease a property and then go off and leave it, because so often it isn't cared for properly. But this family--this has been a family enterprise--has done a nice job. Of course, we, especially Greth, helped to plan what they do. Part of their responsibility is to make improvements--not just stay there, but make improvements continually.

Nathan: What would improvements be?

C. Grether: Oh, keep the fences right, the buildings in good condition. They want to build a new shed because renters now have to buy

expensive equipment. It's not a good idea to put your equipment out all winter. So they want sheds. They just keep an eye on what needs to be done and do it; make sure it's done. The road-- if it isn't a county road, make sure the ditches are in good shape. There's a lot of work around a ranch. Then to plant properly, so that the best planting processes are carried out. Rotate crops as they should be; make the right kind of improvements in the soil. There are just a lot of things.

Nathan: So that is that family's responsibility?

C. Grether: That's right. They came on, father and son.

Tenants' Accomplishments

C. Grether: We have a five-year contract with them. Early on, each time it came up there was a big pow-wow. Oh, they just didn't know. Each time we would persuade them, "We're not planning to sell." Well, by now the original father is retired and his son is nearly ready for retirement, so it looks as though his son might want to take it over. That's the way it has been, and it has been their family home. In fact, most of the people in that area think it's their ranch, which is fine with us and them, too. They're very dependable, and they have been very good farmers. They help with the whole bit--the planting; they love to succeed, too.

She, by the way, has been a very energetic woman. As I said, first she raised chickens in a little shack that was on the place and sold eggs and chickens. Then she decided she didn't want to do that any longer, so she started a little restaurant (and she was taking painting lessons). This little restaurant boomed right away. She had an aunt who made the most wonderful, delicious pies you can imagine, which they sold. It became a great drawing card. People would drive for miles to get one piece of pie. In fact, only a year or so ago these pies were given first place in America by a certain magazine that is published about food in America. And of course that was big.

She put her paintings up in the restaurant and showed them. I hope she sold them; I don't know whether she sold them or not. She's still going strong with her painting and her restaurant.

Nathan: Good for her.

C. Grether: Yes. She's a very attractive woman. She has a family, too, and now grandchildren, of course. The son is living in the original farmhouse with his family. He was so happy to move there. He said, "This is home to me." So it's home to his family now. I don't exactly know what will happen in the future, because we will eventually pass it along to our children. It remains to be seen what they want to do. They sound as though they want to keep it, too. It's a beautiful place, you know, up in the foothills, in the mountains. It's just nice to have it.

Nathan: Oh, it's very important.

C. Grether: People have said to us, "Oh, you should sell it." The banker said our heads ought to be examined. "You could make so much money with what you would get if you would sell it." I always say that all you can do with money is count it. You can go up there and look at this place and have fun there, be there and see what's happening, see things growing, and know that this is somebody's home, you know. It's for real.

Nathan: I love to think of people driving all those miles out to that restaurant. Who would have a restaurant on a ranch and expect anybody to come to it?

C. Grether: No, it isn't on a ranch. It's several miles down the main highway. She got a little place down there. There's a little log cabin, really, that she turned into a restaurant. You go there, and it's almost like a club. People come back and come back and come back. Everybody knows everybody, and they pow-wow. Our tenant is a very outgoing person. In fact, the community people tried to get him to run for the legislature. He didn't want to; no, he wouldn't do it. He did run for school board one time, and he beat out everybody in the whole community. Everybody adores him. So he's in there; he's pow-owing with everybody, you know. Dolores is, too; that's his wife. And, of course, there are tourists during the tourist season. So they do pretty well in their little restaurant; especially in bad years they're glad to have it.

Nathan: Do they serve food that they grow on the ranch? Is that part of it?

C. Grether: Yes, he said they put up a sign, "We raise our own beef." They concentrate primarily on hamburgers, that sort of thing.

Nathan: It's an interesting way of keeping something functioning so that everybody is pleased.

C. Grether: Right.

Nathan: Do your tenants, then, handle things like taxes and assessments?

C. Grether: No, we do the taxes; we pay the taxes and take care of that part of it.

Nathan: I see.

C. Grether: He pays his own income tax, of course; but that's his problem. The property taxes, we take care of. They're due next month, too.

Consequences of Industry

Nathan: I wonder whether you have any feeling of the effect of industry in the state. Has it reached out to your area yet?

C. Grether: Nothing but the timber and the wood products industries. There's a paper mill, for instance, in Missoula, and that would take some logging. In fact, the logger sells some of the stuff he cuts from our place down there, if it isn't suitable for other uses.

Nathan: What kind of timber is that? Is it mostly pine?

C. Grether: It's a mixture of pine, larch, and fir.

Nathan: We hear concerns about the water pollution from the logging industry and pulp-making and so on. Is there any discussion that comes your way about that?

C. Grether: Not in our valley. There might be in Missoula. There's air pollution from the paper mill that's very bad in Missoula. Also from the woodburning stoves.

Nathan: Do you get any acid rain?

C. Grether: Not that I know of. I haven't heard anything about it.

Nathan: So far it sounds as though those impacts haven't come your way.

C. Grether: They haven't so far. You see, it's pretty sparsely populated country, for one thing, and the industries are native industries;

they're not imported. Many years ago there was some talk of moving a division of the Boeing Company over there. My stepmother's nephew was president of Boeing for a while. She thought that would be a great idea to bring people in, and money. He said, "No. We don't want anything like that in this beautiful valley, and I will see to it that it doesn't happen."

Nathan: It was lucky, in a way.

C. Grether: It was very lucky to have that connection. It would have spoiled the valley. It would have been located where some of the subdivision is, below our ranch now. That was where the talk was, because there was nothing much there then. So there was room enough, and people thought, well, it would bring people and bring business, which it would have. But Bill said, "No, we're not going to ruin your beautiful valley."

Nathan: When you spoke of the subdivision, where do those people work?

C. Grether: They work in Missoula or in Hamilton, mostly. Hamilton has a good many federal offices, and there's a good deal of lumber work up there, saw mills and so on, in that general area. Or they may work on up past Hamilton in some of those lumber mills.

In Missoula, of course, there's the university and other schools. Quite a few teachers come out there. The mills are there, both lumber mills and a paper mill. I don't know how far afield they go. The highway is poor. I don't know why they want to take those long drives. They really need some good highways in there. But they have done some work, and they were doing some work last summer, so perhaps they'll improve. That's where the federal money comes in, to help with highways.

Rigors of the Climate

Nathan: Can you guess whether Montana is going to go the way of California as far as development and water rights go?

C. Grether: It will be a long time, a long slow process if so, and I would be surprised if it did. The climate is something people want to get away from in the wintertime. A good many people go down to Arizona in the wintertime and come back to Montana in the summertime. A good many retired people come to Montana from Chicago, from the East Coast, from California, perhaps because

they want to get away from the crowds. Somebody was up there this summer who had taken an automobile trip down to Disneyland with his family. He was just horrified at the traffic, the freeways, the confusion of the whole thing. Go up to Montana, and you maybe go thirty miles and see one or two cars, if that many.

Nathan: Is it still that way?

C. Grether: It's still that way. It's getting more traffic now, over through the area where we are, but on the way home we can go through this country, and mile after mile, it's yours. That's pleasant. So people come from far away places to build homes and retire. According to my sister, who lives in Hamilton, one mistake some of them are making is that they want to get away from it all, and they go up on the mountain, they see this gorgeous view, and so they build a place up on the mountain. Well, at retirement age they may be full of vigor, but pretty soon they're getting older, and they find they have to drive to town to buy a loaf of bread or a bottle of milk.

Then later one of them gets sick, and they're way out from the doctor. She has known several people who have had this experience. She said one couple did this, and now one of them, the woman, is so sick that she has to live in a nursing home, and the poor husband has to come all those miles down the mountain. If it's the wintertime, they have to have four-wheel drive to get them down the mountain. Many of them don't realize that. I know my nephew said he has to rescue somebody every once in a while with his four-wheel drive. But it is beautiful. You can't imagine any place more beautiful in the summer and spring seasons, when you're up high. But the old-timers build down low.

Wildlife. and Tourism

Nathan: Do you see a lot of wildlife? Do the elk come around?

C. Grether: The elk come around in the wintertime, I understand, for hay, around haystacks, but that is not good. The deer also do that. Otherwise you have to be out in the wilderness, in the mountain areas, to see the game. We don't see very much. However, we were driving along the highway up at the lake one day, and a deer jumped off the side of the road, and we just missed--I don't believe by an inch--hitting that animal. Every once in a while

you see one dead along the road. They're there, but they hide effectively for the most part.

Nathan: The fishing is famous?

C. Grether: There are some areas that have great fishing. Rock Creek, for instance; people come from miles to go to Rock Creek to trout fish.

Nathan: Do you think that recreation and tourism--

C. Grether: Tourism is very important in Montana. A lot of their business depends on it. Up in this lake area where we are, tourism is a very important part of the business.

Nathan: The nice thing about tourists is that they mostly go home, don't they?

C. Grether: Yes. They're on their way someplace. Some people just come and spend a summer there, just as we do, you know, and then go away. So in the summertime the little local store people have to pretty much make their living for the year, which means higher prices for produce or whatever. Now, in Sealey Lake somebody's putting in a supermarket. He says he'll compete with town prices, and we're kind of concerned about what will happen to those little dealers.

Interest in Art

C. Grether: There's quite a bit of art work. Montana has a tremendous interest in art. They have regional art shows. People go from all over the country with their art work to Great Falls, to Billings, to Missoula, wherever, rent a space, and show their goods. There are art classes; I'll bet you couldn't go anywhere without finding an art class going on. Good painters; their style is pretty much realistic. Charles Russell was the big painter there, and there were two or three others about his time. He has set the pattern pretty much, I think, for painting Montana. It's good; a great deal of it is very good. There's a tremendous interest in it.

Nathan: I wonder if that's what sparked your interest in painting and the arts that you developed when the time came?

- C. Grether: I don't think so. My mother painted. I think she learned her painting in school when she was a teenager in Des Moines, Iowa. In Missoula High School they have a very fine art department. We had lived with paintings and the idea of painting. It was kind of natural for me to do that.
- Nathan: Just sitting in this room and looking at the paintings on the walls, which of these are yours?
- C. Grether: These two and the one behind you. All of those are mine.
- Nathan: How interesting; they're very different.
- C. Grether: Yes, I do things differently. I try anything.
- Nathan: Now, this--
- C. Grether: This is a Swedish painting. It's interesting. We had a very hard time finding that painting, because none of the galleries would carry this type of painting in Stockholm.
- Nathan: Oh, really? Did they like the more abstract works?
- C. Grether: They like the large paintings of ruins in Greece and Rome, this kind of thing--all classical. One gallery owner kind of snapped at me when I told him what I wanted. He said, "No decent artist would paint things like that."
- Nathan: Is the folk art tradition still strong?
- C. Grether: I guess it has changed now. At that time there was a man who was the public relations man for AT&T, I guess, who sort of paid attention to us. He knew a person who did this painting, an elderly man who had painted Sweden all of this life; he was devoted to painting the scenes of Sweden. He lived up in the country. So this very nice person took us on a long ride through the country to his house; the man lived in kind of an old Victorian type house. I want you to know, every inch of space in his house was covered with paintings, and they were so enchanting. The joke of it is that now in Sweden his paintings are very valuable and in great demand.
- Nathan: I should just say, perhaps, for the tape that it is representational, a house at the water's edge.
- C. Grether: It's a farm building. It is at the water's edge; they tend to build on the sound or whatever. It is a very typical picture of

the little houses there. That's what Greth wanted. They were so attractive, and he wanted just to find something that we could bring home that would remind us of that.

Nathan: It's realistic. That is exactly the way they look?

C. Grether: That red color is the natural paint. They use it a great deal. The reason, so they told us, was that it is a color of the soil, and so they make the paint out of the soil.

Nathan: I see. It's a natural color.

C. Grether: It's a natural red.

Nathan: Next summer do you plan to go back to make your regular visit to Montana?

C. Grether: Yes, we hope to, and we hope for better weather.

Nathan: Yes. I hope that for you, too. Thank you.

Transcriber: Elizabeth Eshleman

Final Typists: Judy Smith, Marta Sykes

Carrie Maclay Grether Economist

EXAMINER STAFF REPORT

A memorial service will be held Friday for Carrie Maclay Grether, first woman to become a graduate teaching fellow in economics at UC-Berkeley.

Mrs. Grether died of heart problems Sunday at her Berkeley home. She was 93.

A native of Lolo, Mont., Carrie Maclay graduated from the University of Montana in 1922, where she earned top honors in economics and was subsequently invited to study at Berkeley under Professor Ira Cross, one of the leading economists of the day.

In 1925, she married Ewald Grether, who later became an international authority in marketing and for 20 years served as the founding dean of Berkeley's School of Business Administration.

Her teaching experience at Berkeley occurred during the 1920s. Mrs. Grether was also a former teacher of economics at the old Williams College, which offered a then-pioneering post-high school curriculum.

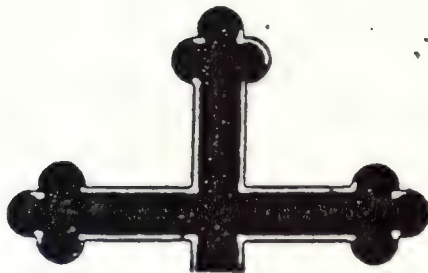
She was active in Berkeley's Town and Gown Club, the University YWCA and the St. John's Presbyterian Church Women's Association.

She began painting in the 1960s and her work has frequently been featured in Berkeley showings.

Survivors in addition to her husband of 67 years include a daughter, Virginia Grether Moose of Sacramento; a son, David, a professor at California Institute of Technology in Pasadena; 10 grandchildren and 11 great-grandchildren.

The memorial service will be held at 11 a.m. at St. John's Presbyterian Church in Berkeley.

Preferred memorial contributions are to St. John's Child Care Center Fund, 2727 College Ave., Berkeley, CA 94705.



ST. JOHN'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
2727 COLLEGE AVENUE
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

CARRIE GRETHUR

(1899 - 1993)

ORDER OF WORSHIP

January 15, 1993

11:00 AM

Musical Prelude

Welcome

*** Call to Worship**

Minister: Jesus said "I am the resurrection and the life".

People: If we believe in him, we shall live even though we die.

Minister: Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?

People: Neither death, nor life, nor anything else in all creation can ever separate us from his love.

***Opening Prayer**

***Hymn:** 58 "God of our Life"

Petition (in unison)

Almighty and merciful God, whose love never fails and who can turn the shadow of death into daybreak, help us to receive your Word with believing hearts so that, hearing your promise in Scripture, we may have hope and be lifted out of darkness into the light and peace of your presence.

Readings from the Old Testament

Psalm 130

Psalm 121

Readings:

John 14

I Peter chapter 1

Romans 8

Hymn: 456 Amazing Grace

Prayer

Remembrances of Carrie

Clark Kerr

Ruth Huenemann

Mary Williams

Prayer of Thanksgiving and The Lord's Prayer

***Hymn: 397: For All the Saints: (verses 1-5, 8)**

***Benediction**

***Organ Postlude**

All are invited to a reception in the Fireside Room immediately following the service.

Minister: Dr. Thomas McKnight
Organist: Dr. David Hunsberger

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MAR 16 1981

EWALD T. GRETHER

Appendix A

Date and Place of Birth: March 27, 1899, New Philadelphia, Ohio.

Family Data:

Son of Rev. William and Hermina Schaeferkort Grether (6th of 9 children).
Married Oct. 24, 1925, Kansas City, Missouri to Carrie Virginia Maclay.
(She was the first woman to be appointed as teaching fellow in economics
(1922) in the University of California.) 3 Children: Carrie Virginia (wife
of Administrative Law Judge James Miles Moose, Jr. in Sacramento),
Susann Maclay (wife of Col. Clark H. Allison, ret., Sacramento)
David Maclay Grether, Professor of Economics, Chairman, Social Sciences,
California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, CA.

There are 10 grandchildren and one great-grandchild.

Present Positions:

Flood Professor of Economics, University of California, Berkeley; Emeritus
since July 1, 1966.
Dean Emeritus, School of Business Administration, University of California,
Berkeley
Dean Emeritus, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of
California
Faculty Editor, California Management Review, 1962-72.

Education and Degrees:

Heidelberg College, Ohio, 1917-1920
A.B., 1922, in Economics, University of Nebraska
M.A., 1923, in Economics, University of California
Ph.D., 1924, in Economics, University of California
LL.D., 1950 (Honorary), University of Nebraska
ekon.dr. (hon.c.) 1959, Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden
LL.D., 1967 (Honorary), University of California

Chronology of Academic Positions:

Teaching Fellow in Economics, University of California, 1922, Instructor in
Economics, 1924-25
Assistant Professor of Advertising and Sales Management, University of
Nebraska, 1925-26
Assistant Professor of Economics, University of California, 1926-30,
Associate Professor, 1930-39; Visiting Professor Marketing, University
of Pennsylvania, 1938-39; Flood Professor of Economics, University of
California, 1939-1966; Emeritus since July 1, 1966
Acting Dean, College of Commerce, University of California, 1934-36;
Dean, 1941-43
Dean, School of Business Administration, 1943-61; Emeritus since July 1, 1961
Dean, Graduate School of Business Administration. 1955-1961; Emeritus since
July 1, 1961
Director, Institute of Industrial Relations, 1952-54
Vice-Chairman, Academic Senate, Northern Section, 1952-55
Vice-Chairman (1964-65) and Chairman (1965-66) of the University-wide
Assembly of the Academic Senate and of the Academic Council

Appointments in Connection with Federal Agencies:

Consultant, NRA, Washington, D.C., 1935-36

Public panel member, National War Labor Board, 10th Region, 1943

Special Consultant, Office of Price Administration, Washington, D.C., 1944

Director of Economic Management, National Security Resources Board, Wash., D.C.

(on loan from the University of California), 1948; Consultant, NSRB, 1949-50

Member of the Attorney General's National Committee to Study the Antitrust Laws, 1953-55

Economic Consultant, Antitrust Division, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1957-58

Member, Special Committee on Goals in Air Pollution Research, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 1959-60

Appointments in State Government:

Member and Secretary, San Francisco World Trade Center Authority, 1947-55

General Chairman, Governor's Conference on Employment, 1949

Chairman, Governor's Study Commission on the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1951-52

Special Consultant, Department of Water Resources, State of California, 1958-59

Chairman, Technical Advisory Committee, Economic Development Agency, State of California, 1960-61

Membership in Professional Societies:

American Economic Association

American Marketing Association, Vice President, 1952-53

Western Economic Association

Etc.

Miscellaneous Appointments and Awards:

Managing Editor, Journal of Marketing, 1939-41; Editor-in-Chief, 1941-43

Consultant, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1948-50

President, American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business, 1948-49

Consultant, Operations Research Office, Johns Hopkins University, 1949-50

Chairman, Industrial Plant Location Committee (now called Industrial Development Committee), California State Chamber of Commerce, 1947-62

Special Lecturer, University of Indiana, March 1952

Visiting Lecturer, Stockholm School of Economics, Spring, 1953, under auspices of the U.S. Department of State

Hall of Fame, Boston Conference on Distribution, October 1953

Special Lecturer, University of Illinois, November 1953

Paul D. Converse Award for Contribution to the Theory of Marketing, 1955, 1975
University of Illinois

Special Lecturer, University of Texas, Austin, Fall, 1957; Visiting Professor of Marketing, Spring, 1978

Member, Business Education Committee, Committee for Economic Development, New York, 1959-61

Board of Trustees, Marketing Science Institute, Philadelphia; Cambridge, 1962-

Alpha Kappa Psi Foundation Award of the American Marketing Association, 1968,
Member of Berkeley Fellows since 1968

Alumnus of the Year Award, California Business Alumni, 1974

Tenth Annual Distinguished Lecturer and Adviser on the Graduate Program in Business Administration, Chinese University, Hong Kong, Spring, 1974

Marketing and the Public Interest, Proceedings of Symposium conducted by Marketing Science Institute in Honor of E.T. Grether, June 8-10, 1977. Ed. by

Miscellaneous Appointments and Awards (Cont'd)

During past 20 years have given lectures at various universities in Japan; Indonesia; University of Alberta; University of Minnesota, University of Washington, etc.

Author of:

Resale Price Maintenance in Great Britain, 1935

Essays in Social Economics, 1935 (with others)

Price Control Under Fair Trade Legislation, 1939

The Steel and Steel-Using Industries of California, 1946 (with others)

Marketing in the American Economy, 1952 (with others)

Marketing and Public Policy (1966)

Contributor to numerous special volumes, monographs, and academic, legal and business periodicals (some 250 items).

Consulting Assignments:

Over the years numerous consulting assignments have been undertaken for private industry, and governmental agencies.

College of Commerce: Instructor

Appendix B

1924-25

100	Economic Theory
123	Marketing
126	Merchandising

1925-26

no listings

(continued on next page)

College of Commerce: Assistant Professor of Economics

1926-27

100	Economic Theory
123	Marketing
126	Merchandising
128	Market Analysis

1927-28

100	Economic Theory
123	Marketing
126	Merchandising
128	Market Analysis
208	Seminar in Marketing

1928-29

126	Advanced Marketing
128	Market Analysis
208	Seminar in Marketing

1929-30

100	Economic Theory
123	Marketing
126	Advanced Marketing
208A }	Seminar in Marketing
208B }	

Associate Professor

1930-31

123	Marketing
126	Advanced Marketing
208A	Seminar in Marketing
208B	

1931-32

100	Economic Theory
126	Advanced Marketing
208A	Seminar in Marketing
208B	

Associate Professor cont'd

1932-33

100	Economic Theory
123	Marketing
208A	Seminar in Marketing
208B	not given

1933-34

100	Economic Theory
123	Marketing
208A	Seminar in Marketing
208B	

1934-35

100	Economic Theory
123	Marketing
208A	Seminar in Marketing
208B	

Associate Professor and Acting Dean (1935-36)

1935-36

100A	Economic Theory
100B	
123	Marketing
202A	Seminar in History of Economic Thought
202B	
223A	Seminar in Marketing
223B	

1936-37

100A	Economic Theory
100B	
122	Theory of Domestic Trade
202A	Seminar in History of Economic Thought
202B	
223A	Seminar in Marketing
223B	not given

1937-38

100A	Economic Theory
100B	
122	Theory of Domestic Trade
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
123	Marketing
223A	Seminar in Marketing
223B	not given

1938-39

absent on leave

Professor of Economics on the Flood Foundation; member Committee on the Graduate Curriculum in Business Administration.

others on the committee included Robert D. Calkins, Jan O.M. Broek, Stuart Daggett, Robert A. Gordon, Charles B. Lipman, Albert H. Mowbray, Max Radin, Royal A. Roberts

1939-40

100	Theory of Domestic Trade
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
123	Marketing
223A	Seminar in Marketing
223B	
226	Advanced Marketing

1940-41

122	Theory of Domestic Trade
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
123	Marketing
223A	Seminar in Marketing
223B	
226	Advanced Marketing

1941-42

122	Theory of Domestic Trade
123	Marketing
223A	Not given
223B	Seminar in Marketing
226	Advanced Marketing

(1941-43)

Professor of Economics on the Flood Foundation and Dean of the College of Commerce; Chairman, Department of Business Administration and Chairman, Committee on the Graduate Curriculum in Business Administration

1942-43

123	Marketing
122	Theory of Domestic Trade
223A	Seminar in Marketing
223B	not given
226	Advanced Marketing
297	Research in Business Problems

School of Business Administration: Dean of the School of Business Administration and Professor of Economics on the Flood Foundation; Chairman, Executive Committee of the School of Business Administration

1943-44 (3-term calendar)

123	Marketing
122	Theory of Domestic Trade
223A	Seminar in Marketing
223B	to be given if enough enroll
226	Advanced Marketing (not given)
297	Research in Business Problems

School of Business Administration: Dean of the School of Business Administration; Chairman, Department of Business Administration; Professor of Economics on the Flood Foundation; Chairman, Executive Committee, School of Business Administration

1944-45

123	Marketing
122	Theory of Domestic Trade
198A	Directed Group Study
198B	
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
223A	not given
223B	Seminar in Marketing
226	Advanced Marketing
297	Research in Business Problems

Fall and Spring

1946-47

123	Marketing
198A	Directed Group Study
198B	
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
223A	Seminar in Marketing
223B	

Fall and Spring
1947-48

123	Marketing
198A	Directed Group Study
198B	
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
223A	Seminar in Marketing
223B	
297	Research in Business Problems

Fall and Spring
1948-49

198A	Directed Group Study
198B	
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
122	Theory of Domestic Trade not given
223A	Seminar in Marketing
223B	
297	Research in Business Problems

Fall and Spring
1949-50

198A	Directed Group Study
198B	
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
122	Theory of Domestic Trade
269A	Seminar in Marketing (formerly 223 AB)
269B	
299	Research in Business Problems (formerly 297)

Fall and Spring (also on subsequent years, unless otherwise stated)
1950-51

122	Theory of Domestic Trade
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1951-52

198A	Directed Group Study
198B	
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
122	Theory of Domestic Trade
269A	Seminar in Marketing
269B	

Titles as before, but reworded to state: Flood Professor of Economics

1952-53

198A	Directed Group Study
198B	
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
269A	Seminar in Marketing
269B	
299	Research in Business Problems

Dean, School of Business Administration; Chairman, Department of Business Administration; Director, Institute of Industrial Relations; Flood Professor of Economics

1953-54

198A	Directed Group Study
198B	
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
269A	Seminar in Marketing
269B	

Same as above, but delete Institute of Industrial Relations

1954-55

198A	Directed Group Study
198B	
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
269A	Seminar in Marketing
269B	
299	Research in Business Problems

Graduate School offered the MBA in 1955
Ph.D. in 1956

1955-56

198A	Directed Group Study
198B	
199A	Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates
199B	
269A	Seminar in Marketing
269B	
299	Research in Business Problems

1956-57 Sabbatical Fall 1956, but listed as giving 269AB, Seminar in Marketing

All titles including Dean, Graduate School of Business Administration; also Chairman, Executive Committee, School of Business Administration; Dean, School of Business Administration; Chairman, Department of Business Administration; Flood Professor of Economics

Shown as Dean of the Schools of Business Administration since 1955

Courtesy of Elizabeth Winslow

1018

1957-58 Sabbatical Spring 1958?

269A Seminar in Marketing
269B

1958-59

269A Seminar in Marketing
269B

1959-60

269A Seminar in Marketing
269B

1960-61

269A Seminar in Marketing
269B

1961-62 Sabbatical Fall 1961?

269A Seminar in Marketing
269B

1962-63

269A Seminar in Marketing
269B

1963-64

269A Seminar in Marketing
269B

1964-65

269A Seminar in Marketing
269B

1965-66

269A Seminar in Marketing
269B

Dean Emeritus 1961

Professor Emeritus 1966

"Our Eighty-Fifth Anniversary:
A Look Backward and into the Near Term Future"

by

Ewald T. Grether
Dean Emeritus

Commencement Address
Sunday, May 13, 1984
2:00 p.m.
Hearst Greek Theatre

School of Business Administration
University of California, Berkeley

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

May 13, 1984

Ewald T. Grether

"Our Eighty-fifth Anniversary:
A Look Backward and into the Near Term Future"

Twelve years ago I had the same pleasure and honor as today--of being the principal Commencement speaker. I will not repeat what I said then except in one respect. Early in my teaching career when I was reading some midterm examinations, I came upon a blue book I couldn't decipher. So I scribbled on the paper, "Cannot read your writing; please come and see me." In about a week a male student shuffled up to my desk and said,

"Prof, I thought I'd better come to see you. There is no grade on my paper and there is something written on it that I can't read."

I am still hopeful that this student or one of his descendants will show up. I have a great curiosity to know what happened to him.

Dean Miles' introductory words reminded me of the numerous characterizations of deans and other academic administrators. Some of you will recall when Ray's immediate predecessor, Budd Cheit retired as the Executive Vice Chancellor of this campus Roger Heyns characterized him as both "tough and tender." A more common characterization that I heard at least forty years ago at discussions among deans at the American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business came from Art Weimer, then dean at Indiana University; viz., "a good dean must also be somewhat of an S.O.B." I agree and let me illustrate. Several years ago, my wife and I were enjoying a pleasant luncheon at a restaurant in Jack London Square. A handsome, well groomed man in the forty age group came to our table, shook hands and remarked,

"Dean Grether, I'm so glad to see you again because everything that I am I owe to you." I expected him to say how much he had learned in my marketing course. Instead, he continued,

"When you were dean I put all possible pressure I could on you to excuse me from the accounting course requirement. You refused and now I am in accounting."

Frankly, the characterization of a dean that I prefer is appropriate to Dean Miles. "A dean is a man who has a happy faculty for getting things done."

A Bit of History

How do we happen to be here today in these charming facilities on the Berkeley campus of the University of California? An explanation involves an interpretation of the great westward migration before, during and following the Gold Rush, and the leadership of three persons: namely, Arthur Rodgers, Cora Jane Flood and Benjamin Ide Wheeler. As all of you may know, the University of California was founded in 1868 as a land grant peoples' university. These land grant peoples' universities turned out to be our great contribution to higher education in this country in contrast with the traditional pattern in Great Britain and Europe. But our own program was not established until 1898 and then only because of the roles of Arthur Rodgers and Cora Jane Flood.

Arthur Rodgers, like most Californians was an immigrant, in this case from Tennessee where he was born in 1848. His family came to the Watsonville area in 1864 and he became one of the very early graduates in 1872, with honors, from the College of Agriculture of the newly established University of California in Berkeley. Eventually he

became one of San Francisco's leading lawyers. The open Golden Gate challenged him (as was true of the speaker today) to pursue even wider vistas. So in 1880 and 1881, he went through the Gate and visited all the leading countries of the Pacific Basin and then went on to Europe. In 1883 he gave the commencement address at his little Alma Mater in Berkeley. In this remarkable speech he portrayed the civilizations gathered around the Pacific Basin and recommended that the University should establish in Berkeley a College of Commerce and Travel so that Berkeley might become the center not only of trade but of historical, sociological and political analysis and relations. He noted also that this type of education would provide employment for graduates--which turned out to be abundantly true. In a few years he was appointed to the Board of Regents and was able to promote this idea and succeeded in 1898 when the College of Commerce, our pioneering predecessor and one of four so called Colleges of General Culture, was established. Most likely this would not have occurred except for the munificent gift of Cora Jane Flood who simultaneously established the Flood Foundation to support this project.

Cora Jane Flood's gift to the College of Commerce must have been with full understanding that commerce and business at that time were largely male worlds. The first graduating class of five in 1902, however, did have one female member. But as of that period of time, the secretarial area was considered more appropriate for women. Today, fortunately, women enjoy more equal opportunities.

Arthur Rodgers also was chairman of the subcommittee of the Board of Regents to search for and recommend a president for the University. By rare good fortune he recommended, and the regents appointed in

1899, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, a Greek scholar from Cornell University and Greece who turned out to be a great administrator and leader. President Wheeler gave full support to the new pioneering College of Commerce in his inaugural address and in a major speech before the San Francisco Merchants' Association in 1899. But he accomplished two other things that explain what we are doing here today. First, he took over administrative responsibilities which up to his time had been handled by the regents through their committees and in the offices of secretary and treasurer. Previously the average length of terms of presidents had been three and a half years. Wheeler's term came to twenty years. Second, he went directly to the alumni, legislature and people of the state and held before them the vision of one of the world's great universities here on the Pacific rim. He received an enormous response and helped fan the flames of pride and loyalty in the University. With this kind of legislative and public support and with his powers granted by the Regents, he brought to Berkeley a notable group of scholars¹ and laid the foundation of what in fact has become one of the world's great university systems under the leadership especially of two great succeeding presidents, Robert Gordon Sproul and Clark Kerr of our own faculty. Our faculty also provided the world of higher education another great pioneer, Dr. Choh Ming Li, who built the spectacular Chinese University of Hong Kong.

1. For a more extended discussion, see Verne A. Stadtman, The University of California 1868-1968 (McGraw-Hill, 1970), chapter 13, "Benjamin Ide Wheeler." See especially the list of top scholars brought to the faculty during Wheeler's administration (page 192), including Henry Morse Stephens, Herbert M. Evans, Charles Atwood Kofoid, Samuel Jackson Holmes, Charles Derleth, Frank H. Probert, Florian Cajori, Gilbert N. Lewis, Joel Hildebrand, Herbert E. Bolton, George R. Noyes, Rudolph Schevill and Alfred Louis Kroeber. (An incomplete list.)

In his maiden speech before the Berkeley Academic Senate, our new President David Pierpont Gardner states, "...Berkeley is where it all began for this University, the first campus to set the pattern of academic excellence and academic freedom that was to guide the others as the University grew, each campus in its own distinctive way. This campus has a special responsibility...to remind us that we should seek higher standards...and that we should assert a strong sense of our own future."

From the College of Commerce to the School of Business Administration

The Berkeley College of Commerce, a pioneering institution in operation with a dean and faculty in 1898, reflected a set of national and international influences which established the pattern for other public and some private universities for many years. Berkeley was exceedingly fortunate in that the Flood funds made it possible to bring some of the leading scholars of the period to the campus, including Carl Copping Plehn, the first dean; Adolph C. Miller, the first chairman of the Economics Department, in 1902; Wesley C. Mitchell, whose basic research was done in Berkeley before he left for Columbia University; and Henry Rand Hatfield, a great leader in the field of accounting on our own faculty and in the university as a whole. High quality in the faculty was present from the very beginning. So the College of Commerce and its successor the School of Business Administration were well equipped and qualified to participate in the great thrust of the University of California towards excellence and leadership--and also to make adjustments to the changing national and world environments.

And changes began to come early. For example, in 1908 Harvard established a graduate School of Business (the HBS). In the discussions that had taken place for a decade at Harvard there had been some talk of a school of diplomacy and government not unlike the discussions in Berkeley. But at Harvard there emerged a school "founded on a pioneering idea...that the administration of business enterprises could be and needed to be taught...as a profession."²

Prior to this action by Harvard, a large number of public and private universities had followed the models of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce (1881) and of Berkeley (1898) and established colleges or schools of commerce in which the emphasis was on broad education and preparation for careers in business and government but not focussed so sharply on administration or upon Harvard's unique case method of instruction. Even more important, almost all the programs were at the undergraduate level and eventually became the sources of an enormous supply of personnel for the functional areas of business.

The leaders in Berkeley observed the developments at Harvard very closely and reacted to them. Consequently, in 1914 and 1915 the Berkeley faculty presented a plan to change the four-year undergraduate College of Commerce into a junior-senior undergraduate program and a more professional graduate Master's program. This plan was approved by both the Academic Senate and the Board of Regents in 1915 but because of World War I implementation was delayed. In 1920-21 the whole matter was again presented to the Academic Senate when the entire plan was tabled because of the opposition of the newly

2. M.T. Copeland, And Mark an Era: The Story of the Harvard Business School, (Little, Brown & Co., Boston).

established College of Letters and Science which had been created by the merger of three independent colleges--Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, and Letters--in 1915 during World War I. From this time on there were continuing discussions among the faculty of the College of Commerce and some changes, of course, were introduced, but the basic four-year undergraduate program was continued, modified by the addition of a Master of Science degree in 1929.

The changes that produced our present label, Business Administration, and basic organization and structure were delayed until the early 1940's. During the interim period of twenty-two years, the College of Commerce was one of the lowest cost instructional units on the Berkeley campus and the label "commerce" became increasingly out of date. There were no organized research facilities or even a cohesive faculty group serving this area. The large total enrollments and patronage in courses tended to hide a gradual decline in quality of performance and in recognition on the campus and in the business community. Similar developments were occurring elsewhere in the United States and culminated in the two important studies of education for business financed by the Carnegie and Ford Foundations, published in 1959,³ followed by the Ford Foundation's support of education programs over a number of years to raise standards and remodel programs. But in the meantime, Berkeley, beginning during World War II and thereafter, had introduced very important organizational and structural changes so that much of what we were doing was reflected in the Gordon-Howell study which was based in Berkeley.

3. Pierson, Frank, et al. (1959), The Education of American Businessmen, New York, McGraw-Hill; Gordon, R. A. and Howell, J. B., (1959), Higher Education for Business, New York, Columbia University Press.

Contending Forces and a Look at the Near Term Future

On April 15, 1984, the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle featured a review of a recent study sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Northern California and other agencies including groups at Stanford and the University of California. This report, among other things, states that the education of Bay Area college students continues to be focussed towards Western cultures, not toward the Pacific Basin, and that students lack language competence and knowledge of international subjects. In other words, something akin to the initial program of our College of Commerce beginning in 1898 is being proposed again. That curriculum included not only functional business subjects but geography, languages, international relations and so on--all focussed into the Pacific Basin. All of the five members of the first graduating class in 1902 went to China, including Roy Service and Julean Arnold, whom I found in Shanghai as commercial attache in 1933. Parenthetically, I may add that Berkeley and the United States in general have been receiving substantial dividends from our educational investments into the Pacific Basin countries.

In the meantime in Berkeley and elsewhere, in education for business we have been adjusting to the requirements of the more professional orientation and emphasis on the organization, administration and management of private and public and non-profit enterprises. In terms of our own program, our location on the Berkeley campus of the University of California with its enormous resources and high standards and recognition is strategic. We need to relate to and capitalize upon these campus wide resources.⁴ It is too

4. See, for example, the article in CalBusiness, Spring 1984, on the interdisciplinary research under the auspices of the Center for Research in Management and the "Dean's Message."

easy to do otherwise because scholars in specialized subfields and disciplines with their own journals, associations and peer relationships tend often to neglect the riches in our full environment. Twice in our eighty-five years, we have provided models for education for business. Now we have an enormous opportunity for making a most unusual type of contribution appropriate to our location on the Berkeley campus. We should continue to be catalytic agents in focussing our total campus resources upon the most difficult problems of business organization and management. In these interactions we have much to offer and also much to gain.

Congratulations and a Few Suggestions

Commencement exercises are happy occasions. In this respect they remind one of the obstetric ward of a hospital--joyous new beginnings. I am happy to extend my congratulations to all of you as you leave us or continue into advanced studies here or elsewhere.

We hope that the habits of scholarship and learning to which you have been exposed here stay with you throughout your lifetime. You will have abundant opportunities to practice "Lifelong Learning," the slogan of our adult education program. Along with this you owe it to yourselves to try to find the areas of opportunity appropriate to your creative talents. Try always to be in a position to be able to choose among genuine alternatives--it can be devastating to have your ambitions and energies focussed too sharply on a single objective and have it fail. Regardless of whether you join a large diversified enterprise or build one of your own, you will discover that

individuals and individual leadership still do count. Contrariwise, we are learning increasingly the high importance of cooperation or groupism, so called.

Most important, you are entering a world in which scientific, technological, sociological, political, economic and so on forces will continue to create enormous risks and uncertainties, but also opportunities, especially internationally. There may be bad times or confusing, bewildering situations that will test your dedication to our democratic institutions. If so, try to avoid becoming a cynic or a dropout. The world is crying for what you have to offer.

ETG/rlw



ON BUSINESS

Regulation of Marketing and the Public Interest

Edited by
Frederick E. Balderston
James M. Carman
Francesco M. Nicosia

Essays in Honor of Ewald T. Grether

Pergamon Press

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Dedication

On the 29th and 30th days of March, 1979, colleagues, students, and friends assembled at Berkeley to honor Ewald T. Grether on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. It is significant to note that this celebration took the form of a scholarly conference.

From that conference came the set of papers contained in this volume. The range of topics is wide. However, all focus on some aspect of marketing and public policy. Both in the range of topics and the variety of intellectual styles whereby these topics are addressed, the volume is hoped to be a fitting celebration of the work of E.T. Grether as scholar and teacher.

The record of Grether's writings (see the special bibliography under his name), beginning in 1927, shows a continual commitment to the development and use of economic analysis for explaining marketing phenomena and for guiding public policy. From an early emphasis on studies of the structure of wholesale and retail distribution, Grether soon developed a vigorous emphasis on pricing and price policies, and published steadily, culminating in Price Control Under Fair Trade Legislation (1939). While this interest continued and, over time, became absorbed in his wider concern for antitrust and for pro-competitive policies generally, Grether also contributed significantly to regional analysis, especially with respect to the prospects for further economic expansion in the Far West, in a series of articles and reports in the period following World War II.

Elsewhere in this volume, Ronald Savitt discusses at length the theory of interregional marketing and the importance of Grether's contributions to that theory.

With Roland S. Vaile and Reavis Cox, Grether participated in the formulation, in Marketing in the American Economy (1952), of the most comprehensive of his contributions to marketing theory and its managerial and public policy applications. While this was a text for marketing courses, it was also fresh and far-ranging in its treatment of concepts

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of marketing flows and in the economic analysis of the marketing activities and policies of the individual enterprise.

From the mid-1950s on, Grether continued and broadened his attention to antitrust and pro-competitive policy issues. He served on a national committee appointed by the U.S. Attorney General to study the antitrust laws, an episode assessed by Donald Turner in the course of his contribution to this volume. A steady series of articles was followed by the compact and incisive monograph, Marketing and Public Policy (1966).

A trustee of the Marketing Science Institute from 1962 onward, Grether has remained actively involved with that organization, assisting in the formulation of its research agenda and following very closely the development of the "PIMS" project. In June, 1977, the Institute held a symposium in his honor on the topic of Marketing and the Public Interest, and it published a volume in 1978, reporting the papers and discussions of that symposium, including a paper by E.T. Grether on perspectives of the issues of marketing and public policy.

From this account of his research and writing, it might be difficult to believe that E.T. Grether also served for an unbroken span of 20 years, from 1941-1961, first as acting dean and then as dean of the School of Business Administration at Berkeley.

During this period, the business school survived the problems of war-time mobilization and the in-rush of veterans during the postwar years; it expanded its faculty greatly, established a separate Graduate School of Business Administration to serve as administrative domicile of master's programs and established a doctoral program of its own. At the same time, Grether was a power in the Academic Senate of the University of California, on the Berkeley campus. Then, as the multi-campus university needed a university-wide Senate structure in parallel with its administrative organization, Grether served from 1964-66 as vice chairman and then chairman of the university-wide Senate. His bibliography includes a number of policy papers written for the Academic Senate, and his office files must contain dozens of internal administrative and Senate memoranda from these years of active, unstinting involvement in the leadership of his university.

Concerning E.T. Grether as teacher, colleague, and friend, there is ample testimony from those for whom he has been a major influence. He has been the source of much inspiration and the friend to several generations of scholars. His work has been the wellspring of great stimulation and his demeanor the role model for appreciating the art and practice of scholarship. His contributions to marketing have been extensive; as one of a small group of scholars, he has carved a place for marketing and he can be considered a founder of an independent discipline. In recognition of this contribution, he was elected to the "Distribution Hall of Fame" in 1953 and is the only scholar to have been awarded the "Paul D. Converse Award for Contribution to the Theory of Marketing" twice: in 1955 and 1975.

On a very personal basis, it is important to note E.T. Grether's unselfishness. Indeed, the time and effort he extended to students and

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colleagues are reflective of his enormous generosity. He has always been willing to share his ideas, search for new ones, and prod others to do their best. He has been for many of his students and colleagues the prime source of inspiration for understanding the values of an academic career.

It will be ample reward for the authors and editors of this volume if those concerned with marketing and public policy find this volume to be helpful and free-ranging in its ideas. It needs to have both of these qualities to be worthy of E.T. Grether.

1981

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1930

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National Goals in Air Pollution Research

*Report of the Surgeon General's
Ad Hoc Task Group on
Air Pollution Research Goals*



August 1960

The Surgeon General's
Ad Hoc Task Group on
Air Pollution Research Goals

LESLIE A. CHAMBERS, Ph. D.

Scientific Director, Allan Hancock Foundation for Scientific Research, University of Southern California. (At time of appointment, Director of Research, Los Angeles County Air Pollution Control District.)

JAMES P. DIXON, M.D.

Commissioner of Health, City of Philadelphia. (Resigned from Task Group August 1, 1959.)

CURTISS M. EVERTS, JR.

Executive Secretary, Oregon State Air Pollution Authority.

JOHN M. GAUS, Ph. D.

Professor of Government, School of Public Administration, Harvard University.

EWALD T. GRETHER, Ph. D.

Flood Professor of Economics, and Dean, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California.

CHARLES M. HEINEN

Assistant Chief Engineer, Materials Laboratories, Chrysler Corporation.

EDWARD C. LOGELIN

Vice President, U.S. Steel Corporation.

LOUIS C. McCABE, Ph. D.

President, Resources Research, Inc.

NORTON NELSON, Ph. D.

Director, Institute of Industrial Medicine, New York University.

LESLIE SILVERMAN, Sc. D.

Professor of Engineering in Environmental Hygiene, School of Public Health, Harvard University.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Public Health Service
Washington 25, D. C.

FOR RELEASE

Sunday, December 11, 1960

HEW-071

An advisory committee to the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service today called for a threefold increase in the Nation's research effort to control the growing menace of air pollution.

The committee recommended that financial support of air pollution research be increased from a current estimated level of \$11 million annually to about \$32 million a year by 1968. The ten man committee further recommended that the Federal Government assume 40 percent of this cost, industry 28 percent and State and local governments 32 percent.

In a 40-page report released today, the committee recommended these ten national goals for the 1960-1970 decade:

1. Determine the effects of air pollution on human health.
2. Determine the effects on the Nation's agricultural economy resulting from air pollution damage to animals and crops.
3. Find better ways of measuring the economic loss from air pollution damage to materials, and soiling, and reduced visibility.
4. Find better ways of measuring and identifying air pollutants at their source and in community air.
5. Develop better techniques for assessing meteorological factors affecting air pollution.
6. Learn, through research, more about the formation of new pollutants from reactions in the air.

(More)

7. Expand our nationwide air pollution monitoring efforts.
8. Develop new methods and equipment for controlling the sources of air pollutants.
9. Build and disseminate a comprehensive body of knowledge related to the technical, legal, economic, and administrative aspects of air pollution.
10. Evaluate the legal and administrative practices related to air pollution control.

The Task Group was appointed by Surgeon General Leroy E. Burney, at the request of Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming, following the National Conference on Air Pollution in November 1958. The group included educators, State and local health authorities and industry representatives.

Note to Correspondents: Single copies of the report are available at the DEEM Press Room.

Ewald Grether: forever a teacher, ready to speak up

When Ewald T. Grether came to Berkeley 50 years ago to get his doctorate in economics, there was still a lot more space than buildings. Students were playing baseball in the open, grassy field now pre-empted by the Life Sciences Building. On the shelf at the upper end of the campus, construction of the present football stadium was replacing the old Bancroft Way field—and uprooting a campus philosopher who was so outraged by the invasion of his favorite place of meditation that “he left and went to UCLA.”

Now emeritus, Grether has always been a teacher. Even during his 20 years as head of the schools of business administration, he “refused to be a non-teaching dean,” and, seven years after his official retirement, is still up to his ears in both teaching and research.

Nor is he hesitant to speak up, when asked, on the bothersome questions in the field of marketing and public policy which still occupies most of his time.

- On business/government relations: “There must be some reasonable basis for working relationships between the two. One of the major issues is how the government behaves in the face of influence peddling.”

- On the role of the market: “There has never been a really free market, nor a ‘free’ enterprise system. All markets are surrounded by constraints. But you don’t need a tremendous amount of detailed bureaucratic regulation if you can trust the market to perform its own regulatory and allocative function in the society. If you can’t, then you’re moving into a different sort of society.”

- On affirmative vs. negative prescriptions: “There’s a great deal of difference between ‘thou shalt not steal’ and ‘honor thy father and mother.’ It’s much more difficult to

operate when things are required instead of prohibited.”

- On corporate trends: “There was a time when much of American industry resisted almost all change, political and social. Now there’s a lot less resistance and everyone is talking about social responsibility, but you have to be very careful because some of them mean it and some are just talking.”

- On consumerism: “It’s time we got away from sales promotion gimmickry into the basic aspects of the situation in terms of the buyer’s interest. There shouldn’t even be any argument when it comes to his health and safety.”

- On the environment: “Looking back [on his 15 post-war years as chairman of the Industrial Development Committee of the state Chamber of Commerce], what amazes me is how little discussion there was of the sort of thing that’s so important now. Why? Because after the 1933 depression, the priority was to get jobs for the increasing flow of population.”

- On ‘new eras’: “If there is one, it’s coming from the ecological imperatives. But as soon as I hear ‘new era,’ I get worried. I was in World War I—the war to end all wars and save the world for democracy.”

- On himself at age 73: “I’m still learning. I’m dealing with problems where maturity makes a difference, and they’re getting more complex all the time, so I’ve got to keep growing if I’m going to go on making a contribution.”

When he arrived for the first session of his graduate seminar early in the fall quarter, Grether was stunned to see the room crowded with people. They were his friends, his colleagues, the wife he met when they were both TAs, and his students—both past and present. They were there to celebrate with him the start of his 51st year of teaching.

Ask Ewald Grether about what keeps him going at age 78, and he won't say a word about scrapbooks, grandchildren, rocking chairs, shuffleboard or Lawrence Welk.

Instead you may get an hour or so of rapid fire discourse on the Sherman Act, price-fixing, the lecture he just gave at Harvard, the Federal Trade Commission, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Robert Gordon Sproul, Ralph Nader, the Great Depression, the comparative assets of America's schools of business administration, Clark Kerr, Joel Hildebrand and the teaching job he has accepted for next year at the University of Texas.

Notice not a single word about retirement. That is because he doesn't believe in retirement — at 65, at 78, or at any other age. If it weren't for the 95-year-old Hildebrand still studying away in the Chemistry Department, Grether might be the Ageless Wonder of the University of California.

He was dean of the School of Business Administration before it even had a faculty. He served there from 1941 to 1961, when he "retired" in order to spend his last five years of active duty teaching.

He reached the University's mandatory retirement age of 67 in 1966, and every year since then he has been recalled to service — a process which requires extensive review of, to put it bluntly, the effect of age on his ability to perform.

"They want to be sure you've still got your marbles and can still tie your shoelaces," Grether said with a smile. "I see Joel every once in a while — it's just marvelous the way he is still going — and I'd like to think that could happen to me too."

Grether bears strong resemblance to John Wooden, the former UCLA basketball coach, in both appearance and speech. Both are natives of the Midwest, both speak in that same quick, clipped style, both have shown a commitment to their work that transcends mere chronological age — and Wooden is 10 years Grether's junior.

"So many people come to retirement age and give up what they've been working on all their lives," Grether said. "I couldn't do that. I guess I'm caught up in an onward-moving stream. It's exciting to see what's coming."

He is, to borrow the medical term, a general practitioner in the area of marketing and public policy. It happened that way because he is almost as old as the field of study itself. As it has grown more complicated and diverse, he has followed, and the seminar he teaches every quarter reflects his 78 years in the classroom of life.

"I think an older person has more to offer a student than a younger one, because you can put things in perspective," he said. "Today there are too many specialists. I think it's very important to be able to talk about the history behind the things that are going on today."

With that, he offered a glimpse of just how much history he knows.

"Every year for 50 years I ask my students the same question, and I haven't gotten the right answer yet," he said. "I ask them if California has an anti-trust law. We do have one, you know — the Cartwright Act, passed in nineteen-seven and amended in nineteen-nine. Well, for 50 years not one student has ever heard of it."

"It used to be that this sort of law was made by judges. It would come down case by case. Then the Sherman Act put it on the books — but an interesting thing happened. Private parties stopped bringing action against companies the way they had before. They expected the government to do it. But the enforcement agencies never did the job they should have done, so finally in the last 10 or 15 years there has been a burst of private action."

"As I said, California has had an anti-trust law since nineteen-seven. But there was never any active enforcement until very recently, when the states suddenly

realized they had a gold mine. For example, when they suspected price-fixing of anti-biotics there was a federal action taken, but a few states — including California — saw a chance to recover damages on their own. California got \$31 million out of it."

"Now this federal action to break up IBM — it will go on for years and years, but it is fascinating to watch as we try to adapt those original petty trade laws to modern corporations. The problems we face are very different today."

"You know, Ralph Nader wasn't part of the first consumer movement. There was a very strong consumer movement in the Thirties. Things like that reflect the conditions of the time. The Depression was a good time to be teaching because economics were very important. You could relate everything to events in the news."

"My field was economics and law. At one time I was the world authority in that field. I was studying the fair-trade laws that began to come in in the Thirties. I went to England in 1933 to study — and I also went to Germany a month or two after Hitler came to power. Then in 1939 I published this book — Price Control Under Fair Trade Legislation. That's what made me a full professor."

"In fact, when they had those hearings not long ago on fair-trade pricing in California, I was the first witness they called. They wanted a little history on the subject. I always tried to stay out of the marketing models people are always using. I wanted to be forced out of the models into the real market. There's a huge difference between sitting inside and writing about it, and going out and doing field studies."

He joined the U.C. faculty in 1924. "I was honored and flattered to be asked," he said. "In those days you were, you know." He was acting dean of the College of Commerce from 1934 to 1936, and got the job permanently from U.C. President Robert Gordon Sproul in 1941.

"The Regents had made plans to expand the College of Commerce back before the first war," he said, "but the war interrupted everything, and nothing happened from then until the Forties, so when I became dean I went to work building the institution."

The second war notwithstanding, he was able to persuade the regents to do a little post-war planning, and the new institution was on its way. In 1945 he brought Clark Kerr back from the University of Washington to head the new Institute of Industrial Relations, and within 13 years Kerr would succeed Sproul as president of the University.

Grether stayed with the College of Commerce, and its successor, the school of business administration, until 1961. "Then I left, because I wanted to spend my last five years in the classroom," he said.

Those five years have stretched into 16. Next year he will spend Spring Semester teaching his seminar at the University of Texas, and after that — well, there's always the example of Joel Hildebrand to follow.

"Both my wife and I are still very active," he said. "My mother lived to be 97, and my doctor says there's no reason I can't do better than that."

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April 1993

Interviews on the History of The University of California

Documenting the history of the University of California has been a responsibility of the Regional Oral History Office since the Office was established in 1954. Oral history memoirs with University-related persons are listed below. They have been underwritten by the UC Berkeley Foundation, the Chancellor's Office, University departments, or by extramural funding for special projects. The oral histories, both tapes and transcripts, are open to scholarly use in The Bancroft Library. Bound, indexed copies of the transcripts are available at cost to manuscript libraries.

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Harriet Siegel Nathan

University of California at Berkeley alumna with two Journalism degrees: A.B. in 1941 and M. J. in 1965. Wrote for the on-campus paper, The Daily Californian ("Monarch of the College Dailies") as reporter, columnist, assistant women's editor, and managing editor. Prepared President Sproul's biennial report to the Legislature, 1942-44; wrote advertising copy; edited house journals; served on local and state boards of the League of Women Voters primarily in local and regional government and publications. As a graduate student, wrote for the University's Centennial Record. Worked as an interviewer/editor at the Regional Oral History Office part-time from the mid-sixties; concurrently served the Institute of Governmental Studies as Principal Editor doing editing, writing, research, production, and promotion of Institute publications. Wrote journal articles; and a book, Critical Choices in Interviews: Conduct, Use, and Research Role (1986) that included oral history interviews in the analysis. Also with Nancy Kreinberg co-authored the book, Teachers' Voices, Teachers' Wisdom: Seven Adventurous Teachers Think Aloud (1991), based on extended interviews with the teachers.

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